

The background of the cover is a monochromatic orange-red color. Overlaid on this is a large, faint, and slightly distressed version of the coat of arms of the Society of Jesus. The coat of arms features a shield with a cross, a book, and a star, surrounded by a circular border with Latin text. The overall aesthetic is historical and scholarly.

STUDIES

IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

PAPAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE
EARLY YEARS OF THE SOCIETY OF JESU
IN ENGLISH TRANSLATION

TRANSLATED BY PHILIP R. AMIDON, S.J.

52/2 SUMMER 2020

THE SEMINAR ON JESUIT SPIRITUALITY

STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS is a publication of the Jesuit Conference of Canada and the United States.

The Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality is composed of Jesuits appointed from their provinces. The seminar identifies and studies topics pertaining to the spiritual doctrine and practice of Jesuits, especially US and Canadian Jesuits, and gathers current scholarly studies pertaining to the history and ministries of Jesuits throughout the world. It then disseminates the results through this journal.

The opinions expressed in Studies are those of the individual authors. The subjects treated in STUDIES may be of interest also to Jesuits of other regions and to other religious, clergy, and laity. All who find this journal helpful are welcome to access previous issues at: ejournals@bc.edu/jesuits.

CURRENT MEMBERS OF THE SEMINAR

Note: Parentheses designate year of entry as a seminar member.

Casey C. Beaumier, SJ, is director of the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies, Chestnut Hill, Massachusetts. (2016)

Brian B. Frain, SJ, is Assistant Professor of Education and Director of the St. Thomas More Center for the Study of Catholic Thought and Culture at Rockhurst University in Kansas City, Missouri. (2018)

Barton T. Geger, SJ, is chair of the seminar and editor of STUDIES; he is a research scholar at the Institute for Advanced Jesuit Studies and assistant professor of the practice at the School of Theology and Ministry at Boston College. (2013)

Michael Knox, SJ, is director of the Shrine of the Jesuit Martyrs of Canada in Midland, Ontario, and lecturer at Regis College in Toronto. (2016)

William A. McCormick, SJ, is a regent teaching philosophy and political science at Saint Louis University. (2019)

Gilles Mongeau, SJ, is a medievalist and a systematic theologian. He is currently socius to the provincial of the Jesuits of Canada. (2017)

Peter P. Nguyen, SJ, is Assistant Professor of Theology at Creighton University in Omaha, Nebraska. (2018)

John R. Sachs, SJ, is superior of Gonzaga Eastern Point Retreat House in Gloucester, Massachusetts, and is a Board Member and Associate Editor of *Theological Studies*. (2014)

Copyright © 2020 and published by the Jesuit Conference of Canada and the United States.

ISSN 1084-0813

**PAPAL DOCUMENTS FROM THE
EARLY YEARS OF THE
SOCIETY OF JESUS IN
ENGLISH TRANSLATION**

**TRANSLATED BY
PHILIP R. AMIDON, SJ**

STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

52/2 • SUMMER 2020

a word from the editor...

To paraphrase a line from Mark Twain, quoting Professor Winchester, a *classic* is a book that everyone talks about, but no one actually reads.

Something similar holds true for papal bulls and briefs on the Society of Jesus. Students of Jesuit history and spirituality find constant references to these documents in their reading, but for five centuries, their content has been inaccessible to all but a relative few who knew Latin. If I am not mistaken, even the most important of these, the founding bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae* (1540), has never been made available in English in its entirety by a Jesuit source.¹ In 1970, Fr. George Ganss (1905–2000) provided the first translation of the revised bull *Exposcit debitum* (1550), by way of a preface to his groundbreaking edition of the Jesuit *Constitutions*.²

For that reason, I asked Fr. Philip Amidon of Creighton University whether he would be willing to translate all the papal documents pertaining to the Society between its founding in 1540 and the death of Ignatius in 1556. He graciously agreed. To be sure, I am under no illusion that most Jesuits will make this issue of *Studies* their bedtime spiritual reading. But I am convinced that it will be a valuable resource

¹ Ironically, an anti-Jesuit polemicist was the first to provide an English translation of *Regimini* in its entirety. In 1838, it appeared in the appendix of his translation of the Jesuit *Constitutions: Constitutiones Societatis Iesv. Anno 1558* (London: J. G. and F. Rivington, 1838), 101–6. The translations are accurate, and the translator added minimal commentary of his own, apparently indicating that he thought that the scandal of the documents spoke for itself. Another translation of *Regimini* appeared in *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola*, ed. John C. Olin (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 203–8.

² *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, ed. George E. Ganss, SJ (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources [IJS], 1970), 63–73. Another version appeared in Fr. Claude Pavor's recent translation of *The Life of Ignatius Loyola* by Fr. Pedro de Ribadeneira (St. Louis: IJS, 2014), 238–49.

for countless students and researchers for years to come. As one Jesuit remarked, it will find a home on many bookshelves.

I added some color commentary in the footnotes. There is no rhyme or reason for why I remarked on the things I did, except perhaps to illustrate how these documents can bring fresh insights to old questions and debates. Also, one must keep in mind that these are, first and foremost, juridical documents, the writers of which had their own presuppositions, specialized terminology, and political preoccupations. Consequently, the Seminar invites the Society's canonists and historians to consider providing their own commentary in one or more subsequent issues of *Studies*.

Only days before this issue was due to go to print, I received word that Fr. Amidon passed away on May 14. At my request, he was working on a translation of Fr. Jerome Nadal's commentary on the *Constitutions*. On behalf of the Seminar, and on behalf of students of Jesuit history and spirituality around the world, thank you, Fr. Amidon, for these last gifts to the Society and to the church that you served so well. Please pray for us, until the day when we see you again.

Barton T. Geger, SJ
General Editor

and a word from Fr. Amidon...

Please note the following:

I translated *facultas* as "faculty," and *licentia* as "permission."

Professores means "vowed religious." It seems to have no academic connotation.

I left *rector* as is. It means a priest in charge of a parish, who is called *pastor* in the United States, but not in Great Britain, Ireland, India, and other places, where he is called simply *the parish priest*.

I translated *Fratres* as “brothers,” and *socii* as “members.” Those who composed legal documents habitually coupled these terms together. The couplet together means “members of the Society of Jesus.” As such, the term *brothers* here does not refer to those who were called “temporal coadjutors.”

In the translation of *Regimini*, I took the translation of the Formula of the Institute word-for-word from the authorized English-language edition of the *Constitutions*.³

³ *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms: A Complete English Translation of the Official Latin Texts*, ed. John W. Padberg, SJ (St. Louis, MO: The Institute of Jesuit Sources [IJS], 1996), 3–13.

CONTENTS

1. <i>REGIMINI MILITANTIS ECCLESIAE</i> (1540)	1
2. <i>SACROSANCTE ROMANAE ECCLESIAE</i> (1541)	8
3. <i>INIUNCTUM NOBIS</i> (1544)	14
4. <i>CUM INTER CUNCTAS</i> (1545)	18
5. <i>EXPONI NOBIS</i> (1546)	21
6. <i>PASTORALIS OFFICII CURA</i> (1548)	23
7. <i>LICET DEBITUM</i> (1549)	26
8. <i>EXPOSCIT DEBITUM</i> (1550)	38
9. <i>SACRAE RELIGIONIS</i> (1552)	38

Philip R. Amidon (UMI) entered the Wisconsin Province in 1961. He received an MA in philosophy and an MDiv from Saint Louis University and a DPhil from Oxford University. He had served as adjunct assistant professor of theology at Creighton University, and, at the time of his death, as associate pastor of St. John's Church, on the campus of Creighton University. His translations include History of the Church by Rufinus of Aquileia, in the Fathers of the Church series.

1. Pope Paul III, *Regimini Militantis Ecclesiae*, September 27, 1540¹

[The founding bull of the Society of Jesus,
containing the Formula of the Institute.]

*Paul, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for a
Perpetual Remembrance of the Deed*

The Lord having charged us, despite our unworthiness, to direct the government of the church militant, we bend our efforts to seeking the salvation of souls, as we are obliged to do by the duty of the pastoral office; and so we support with the grace of apostolic favor any of the faithful who desire the same, and we distribute other graces as well which we see in the Lord will be of benefit, in accordance with times and places.

We have accordingly recently learned that our dear sons Ignatius of Loyola, Pierre Favre, Diego Laínez, and Claude Jay, Paschase Broët, Francis Xavier, and also Alfonso Salmerón, Simão Rodrigues, Jean Codure and Nicolás Bobadilla, priests of the cities and dioceses of Pamplona, Geneva, Sigüenza, Toledo, Viseu, Embrun, and Palentia, respectively, Masters of Arts, graduates of the University of Paris, and trained in theological studies for many years, had been inspired by the Holy Spirit, as is piously believed, to depart from the various regions of the world and meet one another some time before. They had become companions and, renouncing the enticements of this world, had dedicated their lives forever to the service of our Lord Jesus Christ and to ours, and to that of the other Roman Pontiffs, our successors.

¹ The Latin text appears in *Institutum Societatis Iesu*, 3 vols. (Florence, 1892–1893), I:3–7. Technically, the Society was founded twelve months earlier, when Cardinal Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542) read aloud to Pope Paul III (1468–1549) the so-called “Five Chapters,” i.e., the initial draft of the Formula of the Institute that Ignatius and his companions had composed. After hearing the reading, Paul III gave his oral approval, which carried force of law. He then ordered the approval to be written and promulgated, but objections within the curia to the establishment of new religious orders postponed the release of the bull by one year.—Ed.

For a great many years now they have labored worthily in the Lord's vineyard, preaching the word of God in public places with full permission, exhorting the faithful in private to live well and blessedly, stirring them to religious reflection, serving in hospitals, teaching boys and uneducated persons what is necessary for the Christian education of people, and, in a word, performing to high praise, wherever on earth they have stayed, all of the duties of charity and those directed to the consolation of souls. And when they had come to this beloved city and were remaining in the bond of charity, and they had produced a formula for living in order to complete and preserve the union of their Society in Christ, one which was according to what they had learned by experience would be conducive to the goal they had set themselves and was fashioned after the evangelical counsels and the canonical rules of the Fathers, it has happened that the way of life of these companions, as summarized in this formula, is not only praised by many good men zealous for God, but has met with such approval from some that they even want to follow it. The text of the Formula is as follows:²

*Whoever wishes to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in our Society, which we desire to be designated by the name of Jesus,*³

² The Formula of the Institute is often confused with the bull *Regimini*. The Formula is the official charter of the Society that outlines its essential characteristics. The First Companions composed it, and curial officials lightly edited it, before it was inserted into the bull *Regimini*. In the bull, the pope expresses his approval of the Formula's contents. At the time, curial officials commonly nested one text within another. Here, the Formula is italicized to distinguish it. —Ed.

³ Contrary to what writers often assert, Paul III did not approve the name "Society of Jesus" in the bull *Regimini*, nor does that name appear anywhere in the text. The bull—or more precisely, the Formula within the bull (see n2)—makes an initial reference to "our Society, which we desire to be designated by the name of Jesus" (*in Societate nostra, quam Iesu nomine insigniri cupimus*), after which, all subsequent references to the institute are simply "the Society."

Almost certainly, the circumlocution was intentional, in order to leave ambiguous whether the new institute would be called "Society of the Holy Name of Jesus." Ignatius himself was committed to the name "Society of Jesus," but circumstantial evidence clearly indicates that many of his companions were opposed to it, or at least highly ambivalent, as it could be perceived as arrogating a descriptor ("the company of Jesus") that by rights applies to all Christians. Both Peter Faber and Simón Rodríguez, for example, wrote their final professions like so: "I vow [...] to you, Rev. Fr. Ignatius Loyola, holding the place of God in this Society of the Name of Jesus" (*in Societate nominis Ihu. locum Dei tenenti*). In 1548, Francis Xavier wrote from Japan, "If I should

and to serve the Lord alone and his vicar on earth, should keep in mind that once he has made a solemn vow of perpetual chastity he is a member of a community founded chiefly for this purpose: to strive especially for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith by the ministry of the word, by spiritual exercises and works of charity, and specifically by the education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity. He should further take care to keep always before his eyes first God, and the nature of this Institute which is his pathway to God; and let him strive with all his effort to achieve this end set before him by God—each one, however, according to the grace which the Holy Spirit has given to him and according to the particular grade of his own vocation,⁴ lest anyone should perhaps show zeal, but a zeal which is not according to knowledge.⁵

The selection of each one's grade as well as the entire distribution of employments shall be in the power of the superior or prelate who is to be elected by us, so that the proper order necessary in every well-organized community

ever forget the Society of the Name of Jesus, may my right hand be forgotten!" Between 1547 and 1550, Ignatius's secretary Juan Polanco asked him three times whether the name of the institute was "Society of Jesus" or "Society of the Name of Jesus." Ignatius finally responded, "The first, without being able to doubt it." For the respective sources, see *Monumenta Historica Societatis Iesu* [henceforth MHSI], *B. Petri Fabri primi sacerdotis e Societate Iesu Epistolae, memoriale et processus* (Madrid, 1914), 117; *Epistolae PP. Paschasii Broëti, Claudii Jaji, Joannis Codurii et Simonis Rodericii* (Madrid, 1903), 535; *Epistolae S. Francisci Xaverii aliaque eius scripta*, 2nd edition (Rome, 1944–1945), II:437; *Monumenta Ignatiana. Sancti Ignatii de Loyola: Constitutiones Societatis Iesu* [henceforth *Const.*] 3 vols. (Rome, 1934–1938), I:271, 294, 337, 227.—Ed.

⁴ Apparently, the First Companions were already thinking of incorporating grades into the Society, even though spiritual and temporal coadjutors were not formally permitted until *Exponi nobis* (1546). One must keep in mind that, at the time of the "Deliberation of the First Fathers" in 1539, the ten founding fathers were joined by about another ten men, both priests and laymen, who desired to join their company—or, probably more accurately, were already in their company. For example, it was likely Antonio de Estrada who recorded the deliberations in Latin for posterity. Since these men had different skill sets and degrees of education, the inner circle of First Companions probably recognized quickly that not all of them would qualify for full profession in the future Society.—Ed.

⁵ In Catholic parlance of the sixteenth century, the expression "zeal not according to knowledge" (*zelo non secundam scientiam*) commonly denoted a pious enthusiasm that was well-intended but imprudent or short-sighted. As the antithesis of *caritas discreta* ("prudent charity"), it related especially to the mission-oriented spirituality of the early Jesuits. Here, it refers to the idea of men kicking against the goads if the Society did not give them the grade that they desired.—Ed.

may be preserved. This superior, with the advice of his associates, shall possess in the council, where the majority of votes always has the right to prevail, the authority to establish constitutions leading to the achievement of this end which we have set for ourselves. In matters that are more serious and lasting, the council should be understood to be the greater part of the whole Society which can conveniently be summoned by the superior; but in matters less important and more temporary it will be all those who happen to be present in the place where our superior will reside. All right to execute and command, however, will be in the power of the superior.

All the members should know not only when they make their first profession but daily, as long as they live, that this entire Society and each one individually are campaigning for God under [the pope] and the other Roman Pontiffs who will succeed him. And although the Gospel teaches us, we know from orthodox faith, and we firmly profess that all the faithful in Christ are subject to the Roman Pontiff as to their head and the vicar of Jesus Christ, still, for the greater humility of our Society and the perfect mortification of each one of us and the abnegation of our own wills, we have judged that it is of the greatest profit to us to go beyond the ordinary obligations and bind ourselves by a special vow, so that whatever the present Roman Pontiff and others to come will wish to command us with regard to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith, or wherever he may be pleased to send us to any regions whatsoever, we will obey at once, without subterfuge or excuse, as far as in us lies. We pledge to do this whether he sends us among the Turks or to other infidels, even to the land they call India,⁶ or to any heretics or schismatics, or to any of the faithful.

Therefore, those who will come to us should, before they take this burden upon their shoulders, ponder long and seriously, as the Lord has counseled, whether they possess among their resources enough spiritual capital to complete this tower; that is, whether the Holy Spirit who moves them is offering them so much grace that with his aid they have hope of bearing the weight of this vocation. Then, after they have enlisted through the inspiration of the Lord in this militia of Christ, they ought to be prompt in carrying out this obligation which is so great, being clad for battle day and night.

However, to forestall among us any ambition for such missions or provinces, or any refusal of them, let each one promise never to carry on negotiations with the Roman pontiff about such missions directly or indirectly, but

⁶ The term *India* could denote the Americas as well as the Far East. —Ed.

to leave all this care to God and to his vicar and to the superior of the Society.⁷ This superior, too, just like the rest, shall also promise not to approach the pontiff in one way or another about being sent on some mission, except with the advice of the Society.

All should likewise vow that in all matters that concern the observance of this Rule they will obey the superior of the Society. The superior, however, should issue the commands which he knows to be opportune for achieving the end set before him by God and by the Society. In his superiorship he should be ever mindful of the kindness, meekness, and charity of Christ and of the pattern set by Peter and Paul, a norm which both he and the council should keep constantly in view. Particularly let them hold in esteem the instruction of children and the unlettered in the Christian doctrine of the Ten Commandments and other similar elementary principles, whatever will seem suitable to them in accordance with the circumstances of persons, places, and times. For it is very necessary that the superior and the council watch this ministry with diligent attention, since the edifice of faith cannot arise among our fellowmen without a foundation, and also since in our own members there is danger that as one becomes more learned he may tend to decline this occupation, less prestigious at first-glance, although no other is in fact more fruitful either for the edification of the neighbor or for the exercise by our own members of activities that combine both humility and charity. Assuredly, too, both because of the great value of good order and for the sake of the constant practice of humility (never sufficiently praised), the subjects should always be obliged to obey the superior in all matters pertaining to the Society's Institute, and to recognize and properly venerate Christ as present in him.

From experience we have learned that a life removed as far as possible from all contagion of avarice and as like as possible to evangelical poverty is more gratifying, more undefiled, and more suitable for the edification of our neighbors. We likewise know that our Lord Jesus Christ will supply to his servants who are seeking only the kingdom of God what is necessary for food and clothing. Therefore one and all should vow perpetual poverty, declaring that they cannot, either individually or in common, acquire any civil right to any stable goods or to any annually recurring produce or fixed income for the sustenance or use of the Society. Rather, let them be content with only the use of

⁷ The Companions originally imagined that both the pope and the superior general could mission individual Jesuits directly. In practice, however, the duty quickly fell to the superior general alone. — Ed.

necessary things, when the owners permit it, and to receive money and the sale price of things given them that they may buy what is necessary for themselves.

They may, however, set up a college or colleges in universities capable of having fixed revenues, annuities, or possessions which are to be applied to the uses and needs of students. The general or the Society retains the full government or superintendency over the aforementioned colleges and students; and this pertains to the choice of the rectors or governors and of the scholastics; the admission, dismissal, reception, and exclusion of the same; the enactment of statutes; the arrangement, instruction, edification, and correction of the scholastics; the manner of supplying them with food, clothing, and all the other necessary materials; and every other kind of government, control, and care. All this should be managed in such a way that neither may the students be able to abuse the aforementioned goods nor may the professed Society be able to convert them to its own uses, but may use them to provide for the needs of the scholastics. At length, after their progress in spirit and learning has become manifest and after sufficient testing, they can be admitted into our Society. All those who are in holy orders, even though they can acquire no right to benefices and fixed revenues, should nonetheless be obliged to recite the office according to the rite of the Church.

These are the matters which we have been able to explain about our profession in a kind of sketch, which we are now doing that by this written document we may give succinct information, both to those who are asking us about our Rule of Life and also to those who will later on follow us if, God willing, we shall ever have imitators along this path. By experience we have learned that the path has many and great difficulties connected with it, so we have considered it appropriate to prescribe that no one should be received into this Society who has not been carefully tested and shown himself prudent in Christ and noteworthy for either his learning or the purity of his Christian life. Only in this case should he be admitted into the militia of Jesus Christ. May Christ deign to be favorable to these our tender beginnings, to the glory of God the Father, to whom alone be glory and honor forever.

Now since there is nothing in the above which is not devout and holy, we by apostolic authority and the text of this document approve, confirm, and bless from our certain knowledge, and strengthen by the bulwark of perpetual firmness, each and all of the foregoing as favorable to the spiritual progress of the members and of the rest of the Christian flock, in order that the members, who implored this of us

in deepest humility, may be the readier to live the devout life they intend, the greater the grace of the Apostolic See it is by which they realize they have been embraced, and may see that the foregoing has been approved by us. We also receive the members under our protection and that of this Holy See, and grant to them in addition that they may freely and licitly institute the particular constitutions among them which they have judged to be suited to the end of this Society,⁸ and to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the benefit of our neighbor.

This holds notwithstanding [the texts] of the general council, and of Pope Gregory X, of happy memory, our predecessor, and any other apostolic constitutions and ordinations, and anything else to the contrary.

It is our wish, however, that in this Society up to sixty persons only, and no more, who desire to profess this rule of life, may be admitted and be joined to the said Society.⁹

It is therefore not allowed to any human being whomsoever to violate this document of our approbation, confirmation, benediction, reinforcement, acceptance, concession, and will, or to oppose it in thoughtless rashness. Those who presume to attempt this should know that they will incur the displeasure of almighty God and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul.

Given in Rome at St. Mark's in the year of the Incarnation of the Lord 1540, on the twenty-seventh of September, the sixth year of our pontificate.

⁸ Normally, new religious institutes had to submit their constitutions to the pope for his approval. Here, the pope approves the Society's constitutions in advance, sight unseen. This extraordinary privilege angered critics of the early Society, for which reason, later papal documents repeat and elaborate the approval.—Ed.

⁹ The pope made this restriction as a concession to Cardinal Bartolomeo Giudicioni (1470–1549), who opposed the creation of new religious orders.—Ed.

2. Pope Paul III, *Sacrosancte Romanae Ecclesiae*, June 24, 1541¹⁰

[The Society is given Our Lady of the Way
for its mother church.]

For a Perpetual Remembrance of the Deed

[1] In our governance of the holy Roman Church, established by the Son of God, Our Lord Jesus Christ, the author of piety, we support with fatherly affection, and encourage fully, the pious and salutary desires of the faithful, from which the growth of the divine religion is hoped for and the salvation of souls is known to come, and in order that they may achieve the desired result, we offer them our resources and assistance the more readily.

[2] We have indeed for some time now reserved to our bestowal and disposition in the apostolic see all ecclesiastical benefices, both those then vacant and those that were to become vacant, whether with duties attached or not, decreeing that any attempt to proceed otherwise by anyone of any authority, wittingly or unwittingly, would forthwith be null and void.

[3] Now the parish church of Santa Maria della Strada, in the city, became vacant when Giovanni Gaspar de Arluno, from Milan, once the rector of the church, surrendered the church, which he then possessed, and Fabrizio de Pelegrinis—both clerics our beloved sons—asserting that the right within and to the church belonged to him, yielded freely and willingly into our hands the entire right within and to the church which belonged in any way to Fabrizio, and we considered the surrender and concession to the aforesaid see acceptable. We have therefore handed it over, since it is thus vacant and previously reserved to the apostolic disposition, to be administered

¹⁰ Latin text in MHSI *Const.* I:69–77.—Ed.

by our dear son, the priest Pietro Codacio, from Lodi, on the eighteenth of November in the seventh year of our pontificate.

[4] Since, however, Pietro has this day freely and willingly surrendered into our hands this grant made to him without charge, the apostolic letter concerning which not having been issued, along with the entire right within and to the said church, we have judged this concession acceptable, and for this reason the church is still to be regarded as vacant, as was said, and no one besides us has been able or is able to dispose concerning it instead, the abovementioned reservation and decree preventing this. The petition on behalf of Pietro presented to us says: Our beloved sons Ignatius of Loyola, Pierre Favre, Diego Laínez, and Claude Jay, Paschase Broët, Francis Xavier, and Jean Cordure, Alfonso Salmerón, Simão Rodrigues, and Nicolás Bobadilla, priests of the cities and dioceses of Pamplona, Geneva, Sigüenza, Toledo, Viseu, Embrun, and Palentia respectively, were Masters of Arts, graduates from the University of Paris, and trained in theological studies for many years. After departing from their various regions and meeting one another, they had become companions, renounced the attractions of this world, and dedicated their lives to the service of Our Lord Jesus Christ and to ours and to that of our successors, the Roman pontiffs. They had exerted themselves in the Lord's vineyard, where they had been sojourning, for a number of years, by preaching the word of God publicly, with proper authorization, by privately exhorting the faithful to a good life, by serving in hospitals, by teaching to children and unlettered persons the things necessary for the education of a Christian, and by performing the other services of charity.

Thereafter they journeyed to the aforesaid city, and, persevering in the bond of charity, in order to preserve their union in Christ, they drew up a certain norm of life according to what they had learned by experience would lead to the goal they intended, in conformity with the truth of the gospel and the canonical sanctions of the fathers, and we have approved and confirmed, from our certain knowledge, each and all of the foregoing items instituted and produced by the companions, as contributing to the spiritual progress of the companions and of the rest of the Christian flock. We have also taken these companions under our protection and that of the aforesaid see, and have granted

them permission, as in the same letter is more fully stated, to establish among them particular constitutions which they judge to be in conformity to the end of the Society marked by the name of Jesus¹¹ and to the glory of Our Lord Jesus Christ and the edification of the neighbor.

The companions afterward chose one of their number as superior or head, and [since] in the city itself they do not have a church of their own place in which they can give themselves to the divine services, the preaching of God's word, and salutary exhortations, and under this norm of life show their service to the Most High, if the aforesaid church of Santa Maria, which is also located in the city under the title of San Marco, were granted and assigned in perpetuity, with all its property and goods, to the superior and the other members of the Society existing at any time, for their use and residence and engagement in these salutary works, advantageous provision would immediately and assuredly be made for the condition and need of the members and the progress of the church, as well as the increase of divine worship in it and the propagation of the aforesaid works for the praise and glory of the divine name and the edification and spiritual consolation of Christ's faithful. Nor would the care of souls incumbent upon of the church of Beata Maria be neglected on that account, but would on the contrary be more diligently exercised on behalf of Pietro, who asserted that the profits, income, and revenue from the church of Beata Maria, all of which were reserved by apostolic authority to the aforesaid Fabrizio to be received by him for as long as he lived, did not exceed the annual value of eight official gold ducats according to the common assessment. [This being so], we were humbly implored to deign in our apostolic kindness to grant and assign the said church of Beata Maria in perpetuity to the superior and members of the Society, as mentioned, and to apply and assign as well its aforementioned income and revenue to the sacristy of that church in perpetuity, and to make other provisions opportunely in the present letter.

[5] We have long wanted those who request that ecclesiastical benefices be joined to others, to be required to express the true annual value according to the aforesaid common assessment, even of a benefice to

¹¹ Again, note the circumlocution (see n3).—Ed.

which another is requested to be joined. Otherwise the union would be invalid, and in the unions the parties are always to be held liable, those concerned having been summoned. We also deeply desire the propagation of divine worship and the salvation of souls, especially in our own time, and so we agree to the request, regarding Pietro as absolved from any penalties of excommunication and considering the true annual value of the profits, income, and revenue of the said sacristy, whatever they are, as expressed in the present document.

We therefore, by the said apostolic authority and the text of this document, grant and assign in perpetuity the said church of Beata Maria, with each and all of its structures, buildings, books, chalices, vestments, ornaments, objects, and goods, mobile and immobile, together with its rights and appurtenances, to the superior and members of the Society, those present and those of any other time, for their use and habitation, that there they may serve the Most High under the aforesaid norm of life. The grant applies whether in the manner premised or in any other manner, which we intend to be regarded as expressed by the present document, even if it gives rise to some general reservation, even one contained in the law code, or comes from some other person, whether the vacancy arises from this or a similar legal surrender or resignation by the aforesaid Fabrizio or Pietro or Giovanni Gaspar or anyone else who tendered it in the Roman Curia or outside of it, even if it was done voluntarily before a notary public and witnesses, or from the constitution of our predecessor Pope John XXII, of happy memory, entitled *Execrabilis*, or from the pursuit of another ecclesiastical benefice conferred by whatever authority, even if it has been vacant for so long that its conferral, according to the statutes of the Lateran Council, devolves legitimately upon the aforesaid see and the church itself is reserved to the apostolic disposition in particular or otherwise generally. And any suit between parties concerning it must remain undecided, so long as its disposition belongs to us on this occasion.

Thus it is permitted to [the superior and members of the Society] on their own authority freely to take physical possession of the church of Beata Maria, whether on their own or through others, and of its aforesaid goods, rights, and belongings, as well as to celebrate Masses and the other divine services, to preach the word of God, to hear confessions and practice whatever else concerns the salvation of souls. They may

also enlarge and renovate the church itself with the necessary offices, as they think good, and exercise the care of souls of the beloved sons of the parish, and provide for the same, no permission for this being required. And we likewise apply and appropriate in perpetuity the profits, income, and revenue of the church of Beata Maria to its aforesaid sacristy.

[6] We therefore command our venerable brothers the bishops of Caserta, Vaison, and Aversa, to publish officially, one or two of them, directly or through others, the present document and its contents, when and where there is need and as often as requested on behalf of the superior and the members, and in giving them the assistance of an efficacious rampart of defense, see to it that by our authority the present document and its contents are firmly observed, and that each of those whom the present document concerns may enjoy it peacefully, not allowing them moreover to be troubled by anyone in any way in opposition to the text of the document. Those who oppose it...etc.

[7] This holds notwithstanding our earlier decision as mentioned, and that of the Lateran Council, so recently held, that prohibited perpetual unions except in cases permitted by the law, as well as that of Pope Boniface VIII, of pious memory, also our predecessor, and any other apostolic constitutions, and also the privileges and apostolic indults both for the cardinal priest or deacon under the title mentioned, now and of any time, and for our beloved sons, the Roman people, in whatever texts and forms, and even with whatever derogations of derogations, and other clauses of greater than usual force and nullifying effect, and other decrees, even those from our own initiative and otherwise granted, approved, and renewed by us and by the aforesaid see. It also applies even if they expressly warn that no provision concerning the benefices belonging in any way to the cardinal himself by reason of his title may be made except by him or with his consent, even those under the aforesaid see when temporarily vacant, and that the benefices of the city itself may be conferred on or granted to no one except Roman citizens and the descendants of native Roman citizens, and can be conferred on no others, and that conferrals, grants, unions, and other arrangements devised otherwise concerning them at any time, even with the express derogation from these privileges and indults, have no authority or validity, and that it can in no way be considered that there has

been or can be any derogation from these privileges and indults, or at least not except in a certain manner and form contained in them, and if there is any derogation from them otherwise, those derogations benefit no one, and so it must be judged.

On this occasion only we particularly and expressly derogate from all of the above, anything to the contrary notwithstanding, considering their truer gist as sufficiently expressed in the present document, as though included in it word for word, with nothing at all omitted and the form of their transmission observed, while they are to remain in effect otherwise.

Otherwise if anyone has obtained special or general letters from the aforementioned see or its legates concerning provisions to be made to him about these or other ecclesiastical benefices in the said city, and if an action has been instituted by means of them with a view to prevention, preservation, decree, or anything else, we do not want these letters and the actions instituted through them, and any of the consequences, to be applied to the said church of Beata Maria; no presumption should result from them with respect to the pursuit of any benefices. Or if any persons have been granted an indult by this see, as a group or individually, to the effect that they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated, this being contained in an apostolic letter which does not make full and express mention of the indult, word for word, and of any other privileges, indulgences, and apostolic letters, general or particular, in whatever texts they may be: if they are not expressed in the present document or not included in it completely, their effect is by all means impeded and deferred, and special mention must be made in the full and complete wording of our letter, word for word, of whoever it may be.

This is provided that the said church of Beata Maria is not deprived on that account of the necessary divine services, and the care of souls is in no way neglected in it, but that the usual tasks are carried out in a way befitting them. For we accordingly declare null and void any attempt by anyone of any authority to proceed otherwise in these matters, wittingly or unwittingly, whether this has already happened or will occur hereafter.

No one, etc.

Given in Rome at San Marco in the year 1541 of the Lord's Incarnation, on the twenty-fourth of June, in the seventh year of our pontificate.

3. Pope Paul III, *Iniunctum Nobis*, March 14, 1544¹²

**[The restriction to sixty professed is lifted.
Permission to establish constitutions.]**

*Paul, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for a
Lasting Record of the Matter*

We believe that we worthily fulfill the duty of the apostolic service enjoined on us from above if we offer the support of our customary benevolence to those things through which the increase of religion may be encouraged and the spread of the orthodox faith may be hoped for, to the praise of the divine name.

Now our beloved sons Ignatius of Loyola, Pierre Favre, Diego Laínez, and Claude Jay, and also Paschase Broët, Francis Xavier, Alfonso Salmerón, Simão Rodrigues, and also Jean Codure and Nicolás Bobadilla, members of the Society of Jesus, as it is named, priests of the cities and dioceses of Pamplona, Geneva, Sigüenza, Toledo, Viseu, Embrun, and Palentia, respectively, Masters of Arts, graduates of the University of Paris, and trained in theological studies for many years, had been inspired by the Holy Spirit, as is piously believed, to depart from the various regions of the world and meet one another some time before. They had become companions and had dedicated their lives forever to the service of our Lord Jesus Christ and to ours, and to that of the other Roman Pontiffs, our successors, and when they had made their way to this beloved city, they published a certain norm of life in

¹² Latin text in *Institutum* I:7–10. —Ed.

order to complete and preserve the union of their society in Christ. It contains among other things the following:

Whoever wishes to serve as a soldier of God beneath the banner of the cross in their society, and to serve the Lord alone and the Roman Pontiff, his vicar on earth, should, after a solemn vow of perpetual chastity, keep what follows in mind. He is a member of a society founded chiefly for this purpose: to strive especially for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine and for the propagation of the faith, by means of public preaching and ministration of the word of God, and further by means of the Spiritual Exercises and works of charity. And let him take care first of all to keep before his eyes God and then the nature of this Institute which is a way to him, and to strive with all his might to achieve this end set before him by God—each one, however, according to the grace which the Holy Spirit has given to him and the particular grade of his own vocation. The decision about each one's grade and the selection and entire distribution of employment would be in the power of the superior or ordinary to be elected by them. And he should understand, and ponder daily, that the aforesaid Society and its individual members are campaigning for God in faithful obedience under the Roman Pontiff. And that for the greater humility of the Society and the perfect mortification of each member, and the abnegation of his own will, he is obliged by a special bond, beyond the common bond, to carry out promptly, as far as he can, whatever the Roman Pontiff at the time may order which pertains to the progress of souls and the propagation of the faith, even if he might want to send him to any provinces whatsoever, whether he sends him to the Turks or to any other infidels. He should also vow perpetual poverty, so that neither he himself individually nor the Society itself in common can acquire any civil right to any stable goods, produce, or revenue for the maintenance or use of the Society, but they should be content to receive the use only of the things given them in order to obtain what is necessary for them. They may, however, have in the universities a college or colleges which have rights to rentals, fixed revenues, and possessions which are to be applied to the uses and needs of the students. The superior and the Society retains the full government or superintendence over the aforementioned colleges and students as far as concerns the choice of the governor or governors and of the students: their admission, dismissal, reception, and exclusion; the enactment of statutes; the arrangement, instruction, edification, and correction of the students; the manner of supplying them with food and clothing, and

every other kind of government, control, and care, in such a way, however, that neither may the students be able to abuse the aforementioned goods, nor may the Society be able to convert them to its own uses.

In accordance with this, we have elsewhere, by another letter of ours, approved, confirmed, and blessed, from our certain knowledge, each and every one of the items set forth, and have strengthened them by the bulwark of perpetual firmness, and have taken the members themselves under our protection and that of the apostolic see. We likewise permit them to establish freely and lawfully among them the particular constitutions which they have judged to be in conformity with the purpose of this sort of Society, and with the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and with what is advantageous to our neighbor, as is contained more fully in the same letter (in which we desired that in this sort of Society up to sixty persons, and not more, who wanted to profess this norm, should be able to be admitted and joined to the aforesaid Society). And since (as Ignatius, the superior, and other members of the aforesaid Society have recently explained to us) the cooperation of the Holy Spirit has brought it about that day after day more of the faithful who are currently studying in the University of Paris and other universities desire to profess this way of life but cannot be admitted to it beyond the number stated, given our aforesaid decision, a humble petition has been presented to us on behalf of Ignatius, the superior, and the other aforesaid members, that we would deign, out of apostolic kindness, to provide suitably for this.

We therefore, as we consider the pious life and example of the good works of the same Ignatius, the superior, and the members, approve of their pious desires and those of the aforesaid students, and, desirous of the salvation of their souls and of those of the rest of Christ's faithful, we absolve Ignatius, the superior, and the members, each and all, through the series of these present letters and toward their precisely intended effect, from any sentences whatsoever of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and from any other ecclesiastical sentences, censures, and penalties, whether these have been imposed by the law itself or by any person on whatsoever occasion or for whatsoever reason, if they should in any way be bound by any such penalties, and, regarding them as persons who have been absolved, we favor these petitions. We grant to Ignatius, the superior,

and to the members, based on our certain knowledge, by our apostolic authority and the tenor of this present letter, the ability to admit freely to this Society, and to join to their Society under the vows customarily pronounced by the members of this same Society, any of the faithful, however many they may be, who undergo, according to circumstances, the probations contained in that same formula, under the settled Constitutions enacted by that Society, or those to be enacted.

We also grant them as a special favor, by our apostolic authority, the ability to enact among them the particular constitutions which they may have judged to conform to the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ and the benefit of our neighbor, and to change, alter, or completely abolish both those heretofore enacted as well as those to be established later, and to enact others afresh which, after they have been changed, altered, or enacted afresh, are on that account to be regarded as confirmed by the aforesaid apostolic authority.

Therefore to our venerable brothers, the bishops of Cesena, Albi, and Parenzo, we give the command through these apostolic writings that they, or two or one of them, should give, directly or through one or several others, the assistance of an efficacious rampart of defense to the Superior and the members mentioned in the document set forth, and thus see to it by our authority that they enjoy peacefully this grant and indult, not allowing them moreover to be troubled by anyone in any way against the tenor of the present document. They should check any who contradict or rebel by employing ecclesiastical censures and penalties, by our authority, ignoring any appeal, and even invoking, if need be, the aid of the secular arm for this purpose.

This holds notwithstanding our aforesaid decision, and any apostolic constitutions and ordinances, as well as all the other things to the contrary in our aforesaid letters which we did not intend to be in opposition, unless an indult was granted by the same see to some persons, in common or individually, to the effect that they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by apostolic letters which do not mention that indult fully and expressly, word for word.

It is also our will that copies of this document, when signed by some notary public and sealed by some bishop or person holding an

ecclesiastical dignity, should be fully accorded the same credence as shown to the original letter, should they be produced or displayed.

It is therefore not allowed to any human being whosoever to violate this document of our absolution, grant, indult, mandate, and will, or to oppose it in thoughtless rashness. Those who presume to attempt this should know that they will incur the displeasure of almighty God and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given in Rome at St. Peter's in the year 1543, on the fourteenth of March, the tenth year of our pontificate.

4. Pope Paul III, *Cum Inter Cunctas*, June 3, 1545¹³

**[Faculties to preach, hear confessions,
absolve from and commute vows, etc.]**

To our beloved sons, the present superior in office at the time and to the members of the Society of Jesus canonically established in our beloved city,

Pope Paul III.

Beloved sons, health and apostolic blessing.

Among all of the concerns with which the pastoral office burdens us, the one which is foremost is that the care of souls not be lacking to the Lord's flock entrusted to us by the supernal dispensation, lest the ancient serpent, the enemy of the human race, invade it when it is defenseless and unprepared. Desiring that our care for the flock may be shown more fully as the number of workers in the Lord's field increases, and considering the rich fruit which you have thus far produced in the Lord's house and do not cease to produce, and trusting fully in the Lord in your religious life, integrity, knowledge, doctrine, morals, and

¹³ Latin text in *Institutum* I:10–11.—Ed.

experience, we grant to you whom we elsewhere have taken under our protection and that of the apostolic see by approving, confirming, and blessing you and strengthening you by the bulwark of perpetual firmness, and to anyone found suitable for this and assigned to it by the superior of your Society in office at the time, the full and free faculty, by the apostolic authority through the present letter, at our good pleasure and that of the apostolic see, of preaching, proposing, and explaining the word of God to the clergy and people in any churches, and common or public places and streets, and any other place, of teaching them the way of truth, and of exhorting and admonishing them in the Lord to live well and happily, that they may be edified in you both by word and example. [We also grant] to those of you who may be priests [the faculty of] hearing the confessions of any of Christ's faithful, of either sex, who approach you from any place, and, having heard their confessions attentively, of absolving them, each and every one, from each and all of their sins, crimes, transgressions, and misdeeds, however serious and outrageous, even those reserved to the Holy See, and from whichever sentences, censures, and ecclesiastical penalties result from any of these cases (excepting those contained in the bull customarily read on the day of the Lord's Supper), and of imposing on them a salutary penance for those committed. [We also grant them the faculty of] commuting any vows taken by those persons at the time to other works of piety (excepting only overseas vows, and those concerning presentations to the threshold of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul in the City, and of St. James in Compostela, and vows of religion and chastity).¹⁴

[We also grant the faculty of] celebrating Masses before daytime, but around the time of first light, and also later in the afternoon, whenever and as often as that is deemed necessary by your aforesaid superior in office at the time, lawful impediment being excepted, and of administering after or before the celebration, or elsewhere, the Sacraments of the Eucharist and the other church sacraments to

¹⁴ Making private vows was an extremely popular practice among sixteenth-century Catholics, e.g., to make a pilgrimage, build a shrine or hospice, or join a religious community. Typically their intentions were to earn merit and to strengthen their interior resolves. As they were bound under pain of grave sin to fulfil those vows, only approved ecclesiastical authorities could dispense or commute them.—Ed.

Christ's faithful themselves, without prejudice to anyone, and with no permission required at all of diocesan offices, rectors of parishes and other churches, or anyone else. And of saying and reciting the canonical hours of day and night according to the usage, newly published, of the Roman Church, so that you are in no way held to another usage to be observed or office to be said.

We accordingly order that each and every Ordinary of territories, their vicars, and other superiors, either in person, or two or one of them, see to it that this document and all it contains is firmly observed, if even after the document has been communicated to them any of them should be questioned on behalf of any of you, however often, providing thereby in the foregoing an effective defense. And let them not allow any of you, in defiance of the foregoing and its several parts, to be bothered, hindered, or disturbed by anyone further in any way, repressing any objection and resistance by means of ecclesiastical censures and the other legal remedies, and disregarding appeals.

This is notwithstanding any constitutions, prescriptions, prohibitions, and apostolic letters, even the one issued by Sixtus IV entitled *Etsi Dominici*, and the other Roman Pontiffs, our predecessors, and by us and the aforesaid see, even those published and enacted in consistory. We consider the substance of all of them to be expressed in the present document, as if they were inserted word for word, and to this end we particularly and expressly abrogate them and declare them abrogated, on this occasion that is. We also desire, and with the same apostolic authority decree, that when copies of the document are made, subscribed by a notary public, and sealed by a prelate or some person appointed to an ecclesiastical dignity, the same credit be placed in them in every respect and in every place, in judicial situations and outside of them, as would be placed in this document, if it were produced and displayed.

Apply yourselves therefore, my sons, to using effectively these faculties, granted to you for the honor of almighty God and the salvation of souls, and so diligently that through your resourcefulness they may bear the fruit of Catholic piety, and hence you may be commended not undeservedly before God and others.

Given in Rome at St. Peter's under the fisherman's ring, on the third day of June, 1545, in the eleventh year of our pontificate.

5. Pope Paul III, *Exponi Nobis*, June 5, 1546¹⁵

[Permission to Admit Spiritual and Temporal Coadjutors]

To our new beloved sons, both the present superior general and the members of the Society of Jesus established canonically in our beloved city,

Pope Paul III.

Beloved sons, health and apostolic blessing.

You have recently explained to us that due to the scarcity of collaborators, you have need of persons who can help you both in spiritual and in temporal affairs, and in your household duties. For this reason you have humbly implored us that we might deign in our apostolic benevolence to grant you the permission and faculty to make use of priests who could assist you in spiritual matters, and of secular persons in temporal matters and the aforesaid duties, and that we might otherwise provide opportunely for you and for your situation in the present document.

We therefore accept this petition, and grant you, by apostolic authority and the tenor of this document, full and free permission and faculty to make use from now on of priests who can assist you in spiritual things, and secular persons in those which are temporal and in your household duties. These coadjutors, whether priests or secular persons, may take vows of poverty and chastity and also of obedience, for their greater devotion and fuller merit, after they have completed the experiments and probations required by your constitutions (so

¹⁵ Latin text in *Institutum* I:12–13. —Ed.

that they are bound to observe [these vows] for that time for which you, our son the superior, and those who at the time will be the superiors of the Society, judge that they are to be employed in spiritual or temporal ministry, and not longer,¹⁶ nor are they obliged therefore to pronounce any solemn profession, nor are they to be admitted to it otherwise). These coadjutors may with your permission, our dear superior general, be promoted to all the orders, even those which are sacred and of the presbyterate, if they are otherwise suitable, and each and every one of them may share in all of the good works which will be done in the Society, and sharing in its merits may enjoy them fully, just as the other Professed of the Society share in and enjoy them.

You also, the superior, our son, and the superior of the Society at whatever time, may freely grant, in full or in part, from now on and for all future times, to as many as twenty of these presbyter coadjutors whom you find suitable, when you or the superior of the time decide, the same faculties, graces, and authority which you can grant to the Professed of this Society and which have been granted by us to you [members] in any way. You may also freely and licitly create and appoint other superiors, your vicars, whether provincial or local, with the faculty of accepting for this probation whoever flocks to the aforesaid Society, and of admitting them to the aforesaid vows, but not to the solemn profession mentioned, which can and should be made in Rome alone.

¹⁶ This sentence is highly significant, as it appears to pinpoint the reason for the Society's long-standing difficulties in articulating the place of brothers (temporal coadjutors) in an order of *clerks regular*—that is, an institute for which ordained priesthood is a defining element. Apparently, the Companions' original plan was that brothers would remain in the Society only for as long as their services were needed, after which they would be released from their vows. In theory, then, they were live-in temporary workers; and from this perspective, it makes sense that the Companions did not consider them fully incorporated into the Society. In actual practice, however, and from the beginning, it seems that brothers remained in the Society for life, presumably because their services were always needed, and because they had formed fraternal bonds with their companions. The disjunction between the Society's early theory and subsequent practice makes itself felt in other ways, for example, in the lingering uncertainty among many Jesuits today about the *raison d'être* of the fourth vow, which was instituted at a time when the Companions still believed that the pope would directly and habitually mission individual Jesuits (see n7).—Ed.

This notwithstanding the apostolic constitutions and prescriptions, and those of your own, even those established under oath, the norms of religious life fortified by apostolic confirmation or any other support, and all of those items which in the letters of confirmation of the Society we meant to be of no hindrance, and all the other matters opposing.

It is also our will that copies of this document, when signed by some notary public and sealed by some person holding an ecclesiastical dignity, should be fully accorded the same credence as shown to the original letter, should they be produced or displayed.

Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the fisherman's ring, on the fifth of June, 1546, the twelfth year of our pontificate.

6. Pope Paul III, *Pastoralis Officii Cura*, July 31, 1548¹⁷

[Papal approbation of the Spiritual Exercises.]

For a Perpetual Remembrance of the Deed

The care of the pastoral office entrusted to us for the entire flock of Christ, and the love of the divine glory and praise, induce us, as we embrace the things which assist the salvation of souls and their spiritual progress, to listen favorably to the desires of those who request something of us which may foster and nourish piety in Christ's faithful. Now as our dear son, the nobleman Francis Borgia, duke of Gandia, has recently explained to us, our dear son Ignatius Loyola, superior general of the Society of Jesus, which has been established by us in our beloved city and confirmed by us by apostolic authority, has composed certain writings or Spiritual

¹⁷ Latin text in *Institutum* III:443–45.—Ed.

Exercises drawn from the sacred scriptures and experience in the spiritual life, and has arranged them in such a way as to be best suited to move the hearts of the faithful toward piety. And Duke Francis has learned that they are enormously useful and beneficial to Christ's faithful for their spiritual consolation and progress, not only from reports coming from many places, but also from direct experience, as he discovered in Barcelona, and then Valencia, and then Gandia. Hence Duke Francis has humbly implored us to have these writings and Spiritual Exercises examined, that their fruit may spread more widely, and that more of Christ's faithful may be invited to use them with greater devotion, and, if we find them worthy of approval and praise, we may deign to approve and praise them, and may provide them with additional evidence of our apostolic benevolence in this present document.

We therefore have had the writings and Exercises examined, and the testimony and report, recently presented to us, of our dear son Juan, cardinal priest of San Clemente, bishop of Burgos, and Inquisitor of heretical depravity, of our venerable brother Filippo, bishop of Saluzzo and vicar general of spiritual matters in our city, and of our dear son Egidio Foscario, master of our sacred palace, have shown us that they are replete with piety and holiness, and are and will be quite useful and beneficial to the edification and spiritual progress of the faithful. Having therefore due regard for the rich fruit which Ignatius and the Society founded by him continue to produce in God's Church everywhere among the nations, and for the enormous assistance which these Exercises have provided, we grant this petition and by our apostolic authority, through the text of the present document, we approve and praise them from our certain knowledge, and we reinforce them with the protection of this present document. And we earnestly exhort in the Lord each and every one of Christ's faithful of either sex, wherever they may be, to make use of such religious writings and Exercises and to be instructed by them devoutly. We also allow these writings and Spiritual Exercises to be freely and licitly printed by whichever bookseller is chosen by Ignatius. After the first edition, however, they may not be printed either by him or by anyone else at all without the consent of Ignatius or his successors,

under pain of excommunication and a fine of five hundred ducats, to be applied to religious works.¹⁸

In addition, we order each and every one of the Ordinaries of places, and persons in high ecclesiastical office, and canons of cathedrals and metropolitan churches, and the vicars of their Ordinaries responsible for spiritual, temporal, and administrative affairs, to see to it that they provide an effective defense, one or two of them, either directly or through others, for anyone of the aforesaid Society, or others concerned, in these Spiritual Exercises, making sure that by our authority they peacefully enjoy and benefit from this our concession and approval, not allowing them to be harassed in any way contrary to the text of this document. They are to check any who oppose and resist this by means of censures, ecclesiastical penalties, and other opportune legal remedies, ignoring appeals, and even invoking the aid of the secular arm for this, if necessary. This notwithstanding [the ruling of] Pope Boniface VIII, of happy memory, our predecessor, concerning the one-day journey, and of the general council concerning that of two days, so long as someone is not fetched by the authority of the present document from a distance longer than three [days' journey], and notwithstanding any other constitutions and apostolic ordinances and anything else to the contrary, or if some persons have been granted an indult by this See, individually or together, to the effect that they cannot be interdicted, suspended, or excommunicated by apostolic letters not making full and express mention, word for word, of the indult. It is our will, however, that full confidence should everywhere be placed in the copies of this letter when signed by a notary public and sealed by a prelate or some person in high ecclesiastical office, and that they should have the same status, in court and elsewhere, as the originals would have if they were produced and exhibited.

Given in Rome, at St. Mark's, under the Fisherman's Ring, on the last day of July, 1548, the fourteenth year of our pontificate.

¹⁸ Jesuits today often affirm that the Spiritual Exercises belong to the universal church and not to the Society. Still, the prohibition of its publication without the permission of the Society's superior general presents an intriguing historical counterpoint.—Ed.

7. Pope Paul III, *Licet Debitum*, October 18, 1549¹⁹

**[Elaborates and expands the privileges and concessions
given to the Society of Jesus.]**

*Paul, Bishop, Servant of the Servants of God, for a
perpetual record of the matter.*

The duty of the pastoral office renders us well-disposed and kindly toward all who are in religious life, that they may be preserved and may grow in their disciplines and praiseworthy practices. It is to the Society of Jesus, though, which has been established and approved by us, and whose appearance is that of a fertile field in the Lord which has borne the rich and manifold fruits of souls to the praise of the supernal King and the growth of the faith, and which continues to do so daily by word and example in the Christian people, that we, as a pious father, direct the eyes of our mind in particular, and so we judge it fitting to furnish the Society, and those persons in it serving the Most High in the odor of sweetness, with special favors, and to grant as a favor to it those things through which the Society itself may be usefully governed and successfully directed, and may proceed faithfully in the Lord for the assistance of souls.

We therefore agree to the petitions of our beloved sons Ignatius of Loyola, the present superior general, and of the other members of the same order, and we grant to him that from the moment of his election as superior of the Society, according to its constitutions, he is, by that very fact, and should be regarded as being, the true superior general of that religious order, with the free, general, and entire care and administration of each and all, for the favorable governance and successful direction of what pertains to and regards the said Society. [We also grant that] he may begin to exercise his office as superior in everything,

¹⁹ Latin text in *Institutum* I:13–21.—Ed.

and may exercise his full jurisdiction over all the members and persons of the Society living under his obedience, wherever they dwell, even those exempt, and even those having any faculties, and that the said superior may and should in certain cases be removed, according to the said constitutions, by persons having the faculty to do so from the said Society and assigned to do so, and another put in his place by the same persons, and by others, just as the aforesaid persons assigned may think advantageous in the Lord. The superior in office at the time may also go and send his men to any place, even among the infidels, which he will judge expedient in the Lord, and recall them; and he can freely and licitly transfer to other places those sent to some place for no set time by us and our successors, when it seems expedient for the glory of God and the help of souls (we place this upon the conscience of the said superior). Wherever they happen to be staying, they should come at our bidding and that of the Roman Pontiff of the time to the Apostolic See or to wherever is opportune and will have been enjoined on them by the said See, according to the Society's profession.

We also wish, decree, and ordain that neither the superior, without the consent and express permission of the Society, nor any of its members without that of the said superior, may in any way be capable of consenting to being chosen or appointed bishop or archbishop, or any other dignity by any prince or chapter or by any other persons having the authority to do so at the time, or be admitted to that dignity or to any preferment or dignity in the Society, if he is proved to have sought it out of secret or open ambition. [We also decree that] there can be no appeal from the supervision of the rule of the Society, which has been made according to what was prescribed (that the vigor of discipline may be better preserved), nor can such appeal be admitted by any judge, nor can the authorities be requested to rescind or remove it, nor can either the general or the other lower superiors of the Society be in any way obliged to assign the brothers or the members of the said Society to the staffs of patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, or other prelates and persons in the church, or otherwise to any of their offices, except by authorization of a letter from this See concerning the Society and expressly mentioning this as an indult. If some are so assigned, they remain nonetheless under the order's governance, and they can remove them when they judge it expedient; as for those of the aforesaid brothers or members who have

been assigned to preach a crusade or to investigate heretical perversion or something of the sort, Ignatius and the other superiors general of the Society, his successors in office at the time, may freely and licitly remove, recall, and transfer them, and may give orders to those who remain, and may replace them with others, as they think expedient.

Ignatius and other superiors general in office at the time may also, whether directly or through others assigned for that by them at the time, absolve each and every one of the members of the Society and the persons under their obedience, discipline, and governance at the time,²⁰ from each and every one of the sins committed before or after their entry into the said Society, and may also absolve them from any sentences, censures, and penalties of excommunication, suspension, and interdict, and other ecclesiastical or civil sentences imposed in any way by law or by man in which they may be implicated, including those resulting from celebrating divine service in places subject to ecclesiastical interdict and receiving orders when thus impeded and incurring an irregularity thereby, and they may dispense them when they have needed a dispensation. This is unless the transgressions to be absolved and dispensed from are so serious and outrageous that they are rightly to be referred to the Apostolic See, and, lest there be frequent doubt about which should be assigned to that See, we confirm the declaration made in that regard by our predecessor, Pope Sixtus IV, of happy memory, in the bull which they call *Mare Magnum*.

We do, however, order that if those who want to join the Society and its fellowship after being absolved and dispensed, as said, do not enter the order soon and are prepared to pronounce vows once they have completed the experiments according to the constitutions of the Society, despite the deferrals granted them for this purpose by the officials of the Society, they revert and fall again under the original judgments from which they had been completely absolved. We also order that any of the members of the Society should confess his sins to his own superior or to the one or ones assigned by him and otherwise designated according to the prescriptions of the said Society, unless he has the

²⁰ In the Middle Ages, in order to avoid collusion, church law often forbade priests of religious orders to absolve members of their own orders.—Ed.

power to choose another confessor for this purpose granted him by the superior.²¹ And we forbid anyone, after pronouncing vows according to the aforesaid constitutions, whether he be a Professed or a student or a coadjutor of the Society, to transfer to any other order, even one approved by the aforesaid See (excepting only the Carthusians), unless with the express permission of the superior himself or of this See.²² But those who leave this order or company otherwise than already mentioned may be admitted, received, and retained in no other, apart from the Order of Carthusians just mentioned, and the General himself and the other lower superiors may freely and licitly, directly or through others, excommunicate, capture, incarcerate, and otherwise subject to their discipline those who leave in that way and any other apostates of the said Society, as well as any other contumacious types, who will be seen to deserve it, in whatever situation these apostates may be found, and they may invoke the aid of the secular arm if it be needed.²³

²¹ Today, Jesuits have spiritual directors and/or confessors who are distinct from their local superiors. In the *Constitutions*, Ignatius clearly envisions local superiors as functioning in one or both capacities for men in their houses. In a classic essay on Jesuit prayer, Fr. Miguel A. Fiorito (1916–2005) argued that the efforts of early general congregations to legislate the prayer of Jesuits had the unintended consequence of minimizing the local superior's role in his subjects' spiritual lives. See "Ignatius' Own Legislation on Prayer: Ignatian and Post-Ignatian Concepts," *Woodstock Letters* 97 (1968), 149–224. —Ed.

²² This proscription responds to an unusually large number of departures from the Society that seems to have peaked during the generalate of Francis Borgia (r. 1565–1572). While extensive numerical data does not exist, evidence suggests that the attrition rate was quite high relative to other religious orders, and that the majority of men left not to return to the lay state, but to join monastic and mendicant communities where they believed that their salvation was more assured—which explains the clause that men can leave only for the Carthusians. The exodus was so traumatic for many Jesuits that Juan Polanco (1517–1576) wrote what seems to be a form letter to convince wavering men to stay, and Nicolás Bobadilla (1511–1590), one of the First Companions, wrote a booklet for distribution to console the men who remained. See MHSI, *Polanci Complementa. Epistolae et commentaria P. Joannis Alphonsi de Polanco*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1916–1917), II:809–14; and Mario Scaduto, "Il 'Libretto Consolatorio' di Bobadilla a Domènec Sulle Vocazioni Mancate (1570)," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* 43 (1974), 85–102. —Ed.

²³ In the ancient and medieval church, the word *apostate* referred not only to those who formally repudiated the Christian faith, but also to those who left their religious communities without permission. Bobadilla developed this point at length in his aforementioned booklet (n22). Historically, it often happened that men and women

We also remove and free the Society itself and all of its members and persons, and all of their goods, from all superintendence, jurisdiction, and oversight of any of the Ordinaries, and we take them under our protection and that of the aforesaid See. It is permitted as well to the superiors, and by their faculty also to all the brothers and members of the Society constituted in the presbyterate order, in the places in which they live and happen to be staying at the time, to have oratories. In them, and in any other respectable and fitting place, they may celebrate Masses and the other divine services on a portable altar in a low voice with due reverence and honor, even in a time of interdict imposed even by any apostolic authorization, with the doors closed and those excommunicated and under interdict excluded, and they may receive the ecclesiastical sacraments and administer them to others, as long as they themselves did not occasion the interdict or find themselves in particular under it. Those, however, who remain under obedience to their own superiors and members, may administer freely all of the church sacraments, and when they die they may bury them in their cemeteries. Should it happen that the sentences of excommunication or interdict were promulgated in the lands in which the aforesaid members, or some of them, were residing at the time, or were directed against them, the servants or the household staff assigned to the service of these members, as well as the Society's and their business managers and workmen, are to be considered in no way subject to these sentences, and they may hear divine services there, unless they occasioned [the sentences], or it happened that they in particular were excommunicated or placed under interdict. Nor is it permitted to any prelates to pass any sentence of excommunication, suspension, or interdict against anyone of the aforesaid Society, or against others on their account, contrary to the privileges of this Society granted by us (and the interpretation of which we reserve to us and to the Apostolic See), and if they have passed any, it is automatically invalid and without effect or consequence, and should be regarded as such. And each and every one of Christ's faithful, of whatever status, who attend the sermons or the preaching of the word of God delivered by the members or brothers of the Society in the churches where they preach,

who wished to leave their communities fled in the middle of the night, as opposed to seeking permission from their abbots or superiors. In such cases, the latter often could appeal to secular law enforcement to find them and bring them back by force.—Ed.

may hear the Masses and the other divine services on these days, and may freely and licitly receive the Church's sacraments there, nor are they required to go to their own parish churches for that purpose.

And because it happens that the brothers and members of the Society move from place to place and thus cannot have a stable and continuous residence in certain and determined houses, and because we have learned that in the Society itself only those who are suited and proven are advanced to sacred orders, the superior general may present for ordination the members and brothers of the Society to whichever Catholic bishops he prefers who are in good standing and communion with this See, and these bishops may advance those presented to all the orders, even those sacred and pertaining to the priesthood, without any promise or obligation on the part of the brothers and members to be ordained.

And since these members, in enduring great poverty for Christ's name, direct those who are good to what is better by the devout energy of their exhortation, and succeed laudably in recalling the erring to the path of righteousness, we allow them to stay freely in the lands of the excommunicated, the heretics, the schismatics, and the infidels, and to associate with them, as long as this is with the permission of the superior general, and to request and receive from them then, and also when they pass through their lands, the necessities of life.

We also concede as a special favor, by the aforesaid authority and text, that none of them may be constrained, through apostolic letters obtained or to be obtained later, unless they expressly mention this indult and the members' Order, to accept the duty of the correction or visitation or investigation of monasteries, churches, or any persons, or of the trial of cases, the summoning of parties, and the declaration of sentences of interdict or of excommunication, or of the care of nuns or of any religious persons.

We grant to the members complete exemption from paying any tithe, even the papal tithe, on the things that are for furnishings, whether for themselves or for books, construction, and lamps, or for their sustenance and clothing, or for the annual rents to be paid for which some houses of the aforesaid Society may perhaps be liable, as well as on the houses and colleges, and their lands, gardens, and other places

which the members are allowed to have according to their manner of life; and on the items which may have been left or bequeathed to them on occasion by any persons for the purchase of such things: houses, colleges, lands, places, and gardens, and any other goods whatever possessed and obtained by the said Society and its colleges. [They are also exempt from] payment of the canonical dues and from providing the maintenance of the legates of the aforesaid See or of its nuncios, or of the ordinaries of places, and from exactions, levies, subsidies, and procurements of any sort. Nor may they be compelled thereto at any time by letters of the same See or of those of the aforesaid legates or nuncios or diocesan [prelates], whatever their tenor, unless those apostolic letters make full and express mention, word for word, of this indult and concession, and of their Order.

And if perchance a tenth or another portion, or a fourth, of the religious bequests arranged and left, in general or in particular, has been thus far conceded in any way by us or by the aforesaid See to another religious or non-religious cause, or it happens that it is thereafter conceded or paid or given and sent, we decree and desire that the aforesaid members, their houses, and any goods, and what has been bequeathed and left to them or otherwise arranged in their favor, are in no way included in these concessions and orders, unless true, express, and specific mention is made in them of these things and of the present decree and of our decision, rather than reference being made of them through general clauses. In addition, if it should happen that the members themselves are offered the assistance of some prince, duke, marquis, count, or organization, or of some powerful person with abundant resources, to build and construct some house, church, or college of the said Society, whether it is bequeathed in the testament of some person of the sort, or in some way a house, churches, or colleges are offered to them: we decree that they can be constructed and built with all that is necessary and suitable thereto, and a place offered for the construction can be accepted, and the houses themselves, churches, colleges, residences, and oratories, wherever they have been constructed by the said members at the time or given to them, are, by the very fact that they have been built or given, established, approved, and confirmed by the aforesaid apostolic authority. [We also decree that] whatever goods have been given, left, and bequeathed at

any time by any of Christ's faithful for the endowment of the colleges or the maintenance of the students residing therein at any time, are automatically applied and appropriated perpetually thereunto by the aforesaid apostolic authority, and are to be regarded as such (unless they belong otherwise to the benefice of the aforesaid See), and they may have the said churches with the cemeteries blessed and consecrated, and the cornerstone placed, by any bishops (if the diocesan [bishops] put off doing so beyond four months). We forbid all archbishops, bishops, other prelates of churches, ordinaries of places, and all other ecclesiastical and secular authorities, making this furthermore an order, to impede, disturb, or bother the members themselves or their houses, churches, and colleges in any way in these construction projects, when they want to build, by taking it on themselves to refuse their request for something, if it seems expedient in the Lord.

And so that those under vows in this Society may have no reason to be going to and fro, and the necessity of having recourse to the aforesaid Apostolic See may be removed as far as possible, we grant and allow to the general by the aforesaid authority and tenor, and by his permission to the provincial superiors of the said Society in office at any time, and to their vicars and deputies, that they may dispense the persons in this Society who suffer from a defect in parentage stemming from adultery, sacrilege, incest, and any other nefarious and illicit sexual intercourse, and also those who for whatever reason besides voluntary homicide, bigamy, and mutilation of their members, were canonically disqualified after they pronounced vows in the Order itself, in order that, notwithstanding this defect and disqualification, they may be promoted to any orders, even those sacred and the presbyterate, and may minister in them even in the ministry of the altar, and those aforesaid canonically disqualified by a defect in parentage may be chosen, accepted, and appointed for any administrative posts and offices in the said Society, and may hold and exercise them freely and licitly.

We have learned in addition that the people of the cities, lands, and places where the members dwell, or with which they associate or through which they pass, are attracted and drawn to the religious life which the Lord grants them to lead, and so flock gladly to confess to them and receive holy communion from their hands, and thus, so

that they may satisfy those who flock to them, all of Christ's faithful of either sex may confess to anyone of the aforesaid Society, and their rector's permission is in no way required, nor are they obliged to confess to him again the same sins which they had confessed and from which they had been absolved.

In addition, each and every one of Christ's faithful, both foreigners and those staying in or passing through the cities and places in which the aforesaid members are located, may freely and licitly receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist (which we want the aforesaid members to reserve properly in their churches) at any time of the year, except on the Easter feast of the Resurrection of the Lord, and at the point of death, unless the situation of those parish faithful is urgent, the permission of the rectors of the churches being in no way required.

And in our desire to provide for the progress of souls, relying on the mercy of almighty God and the authority of his apostles, Blessed Peter and Paul, we mercifully grant and bestow upon each and every one of Christ's faithful of either sex, wherever they may be, by apostolic authority, through this present document, a plenary indulgence and remission of all of their sins in jubilee form when they sincerely repent and confess, or have the intention to confess at the times set by law, and who have devoutly visited some church or other religious place of the said Society once each year (except for a jubilee year) on a day to be chosen by the superior at the time of the said Society, from first vespers until sundown of that day inclusively, and have recited therein the Our Father and the Hail Mary. And in addition at four other times as well, the feasts of Christmas, the Circumcision, Epiphany, and Corpus Christi, and also on Fridays and Sundays and the days of Lent each year until the octave day of Easter, we mercifully in the Lord remit seven years and as many Lents of the penances enjoined upon them, if they have devoutly visited the churches and the other religious places of the said Society and likewise recited the aforesaid Our Father and Hail Mary, and devoutly heard the word of God, if it is preached therein.

The superior general of the Society may also appoint those of his men whom he judges suitable in the Lord to lecture in theology and the other disciplines anywhere, with no permission of anyone else being required. And since he has sent some of the brothers or members of the

Society into other most distant lands and regions of the Saracens, the pagans, and other infidels, from which recourse cannot be had to the Apostolic See, he may by our authority grant them the faculty to absolve the Christians living there, each and every one of them, once they have heard the confession of their sins and assigned them a salutary penance, from each and all of their sins, even those reserved in the bull *Coenae Domini*, and from the consequent censures and penalties. They may also dispense those who are just converting from unbelief in the most distant places, and who have contracted marriages earlier within the degrees not licit, but not prohibited by divine law, so that they may remain in them, and in these most distant places they may erect any churches, hospices, and other religious places which seem expedient, and may refashion those currently and provisionally erected without prejudice to anyone. And they may bless the priestly vestments, palls, corporals, chalices, altars, and cemeteries (if the Catholic bishop who should do so is not present there). They can also reconsecrate profaned churches, and can moreover issue whatever statutes and ordinances are needed, and after issuing them can change and alter them and add to them and subtract from them. And when the provincial superior residing in those distant parts dies, they may freely and licitly choose another temporarily until another is sent by the superior general in place of the superior who has died. And since priests are so few in the numerous peoples of those regions that one of them must assume the care of several peoples, they may celebrate Mass twice in the same day in different places.

In addition, having carefully considered the great advantage to the exaltation of the Christian faith and the gospel truth that is offered by the religious of the said Society, and can be offered, and approving, renewing, and confirming each and all of the favors, immunities, concessions, privileges, and indults which were previously granted by us in any way to this Society and to its members and persons—and we want them to be regarded as specified here—we grant and allow to the members of the said Society, who cannot pronounce their profession elsewhere than in the city of Rome—the apostolic letters obtained on occasion by the Society for that purpose for various reasons notwithstanding—that they may, by permission of the aforesaid superior general, pronounce that profession freely and licitly elsewhere.

Ignatius moreover and the other superiors general of the Society, his successors at any time, may extend the indult granted about having twenty coadjutors to whomever else they may judge would be suitable to live under obedience to them; and they may freely and licitly administer whatever favors, concessions, and indults were granted by us to those superiors general of the Society at the time, through their vicars or the persons who seem good to them and who act on their behalf at the time, especially in the Indies and other distant parts.

We decree that the present letter and whatever it contains can in no way be censured or opposed on any basis, whether by the vice of deception or craft or illegality, or by a fault in our expression, and it is in no way included in any suspensions, detractions, limitations, and any other contrary regulations, including those which detract from or revoke the indulgences granted, even those granted by us and by this See at the time; it remains always excepted from them and obtains its full effects. Copies of it, when signed by a notary public and furnished with the seal of a metropolitan canon or that [of a canon] of another cathedral church, or of a person appointed to an ecclesiastical dignity, are to be shown quite the same trust as is shown to the original letter if it was produced and displayed in any court or outside of it, and it is thus to be judged and defined by any judges and executors, even those enjoying any apostolic authority; any faculty and authority to judge and interpret it otherwise is removed from them, each and all. If anyone of any authority attempts to do otherwise in these matters, wittingly or unwittingly, we declare it null and void.

And in commending most highly in the Lord the aforesaid Society and each of its members to our beloved sons in Christ the illustrious and noble men the princes and lords temporal, and our venerable brothers the ecclesiastical prelates appointed to whatever dignity, we ask and exhort them in the Lord not only that they not allow them to be disturbed or their privileges to be violated, but that they receive them with kindness and charity, as is fitting.

We likewise order, by apostolic writ, each and every one of our venerable brothers the abbots, priors, and other persons appointed to an ecclesiastical dignity, as well as the canons of metropolitan and other cathedral churches, and the officials and vicars general of those

archbishops and bishops, wherever appointed, to publish formally, each and every one of them, whether on their own or through another or others, the present letter and its contents, when and where there is need and whenever they are requested by the beloved members, any one of them, and, by providing the members an effective means of protection in the present document, to bring it about by our authority that the members enjoy the letter and its contents in peace. They must not allow any of them to be unfairly bothered in any way by the ordinaries of places or anyone else on account of the present document or for any other reason, but they will see to it that justice is done for them against anyone of any state or rank, even those enjoying and protected by patriarchal, archiepiscopal, episcopal, or worldly dignity and immunity, in any legal cases, thereby duly enforcing what they will have ordered. Those who have incurred the aforesaid censures and penalties they should declare excommunicated and interdicted, and should see to it that this is publicly announced and that they are strictly shunned by everyone, and once the legal procedures that are to be observed have been followed in their cases, they should make sure that their punishment is increased repeatedly, as often as there is need, checking by our authority any who contradict this, ignoring any appeal, and even invoking, if need be, the aid of the secular arm for this purpose.

This holds notwithstanding the constitutions and ordinances, even those confirmed under oath, and the statutes and customs enjoying apostolic confirmation or any other reinforcement, as well as the privileges, indulgences, and apostolic letters of St. Benedict, St. Francis, and the Mendicants, and [notwithstanding] the other aforesaid orders and their superiors and persons, including those documents forbidding the sharing of the favors granted them, and those otherwise granted, confirmed, and even repeated on fresh occasions by us and the aforesaid See, even *Mare Magnum*, *Bulla Aurea*, and those likewise named in any way. We particularly and expressly derogate from them on this occasion, considering their effect to be adequately expressed and contained in the present document, while they themselves will otherwise retain their force, all else to the contrary notwithstanding.

No one is therefore allowed to invalidate or rashly to oppose this enactment of our concessions, statutes, ordination, confirmation, prohibitions, exemption, allowance, reception, decrees, decisions,

amplification, remittance, exhortation, donation, command, and derogation. Anyone who presumes to attempt such must know that he will incur the displeasure of almighty God and of the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul.

Given in Rome at St. Mark's in the year 1549 of the Incarnation of the Lord, on the eighteenth of October, the fifteenth year of our pontificate.

8. Pope Julius III, *Exposcit debitum*, July 21, 1550

For a complete translation of this bull and the revised Formula of the Institute that it contains, see: *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, ed. George E. Ganss, SJ (St. Louis: Institute of Jesuit Sources [IJS], 1970), 63–73. For a side-by-side comparison of the two Formulas, see *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus and Their Complementary Norms*, ed. John W. Padberg, SJ (St. Louis: IJS, 1996), 3–13.

9. Pope Julius III, *Sacrae Religionis*, October 22, 1552²⁴

**[Confirmation of the Privileges of the Society,
and the Granting of Others]**

To Our Dear Son Ignatius of Loyola, Superior General of the Society of Jesus,

Pope Julius III.

Dear Son, health and apostolic blessing!

²⁴ Latin text in *Institutum* I:28–31.—Ed.

Our dear sons of the Society of Jesus, rejecting worldly vanities, offer to the Most High a welcome service in the spirit of humility, and by their fervent efforts draw others to obedience to the divine majesty through their example of virtue and solid doctrine. Support for the sacred religion under which they work requires that to which the merits of your devotion induce us, namely that we fortify by the protection of apostolic firmness the things which have been prudently granted to you and to them by us and our predecessor, and that we encourage you with even wider favors and graces by granting you that by which your interests and those of the souls which you labor to assist, both your own and those of others, may be increasingly furthered.

We therefore favor the petitions you have made to us in this regard, and by our apostolic authority and the text of this document, from our certain knowledge, we approve and confirm each and all of the letters, faculties, indulgences, even those plenary, concessions, immunities, exemptions, liberties, favors, privileges, and indults granted to you by Pope Paul III, of happy memory, our predecessor, and by us, both in general and in particular, and those otherwise granted in any way and in texts and forms, which are at your disposal and that of the superior general of the Society in office at any time. [We grant] as well the faculty of dispensing the persons of the Society, directly or through others who are professed of the Society, from fasts and prohibited foods, and that of absolving anyone at all, by yourself and by your successors or others likewise professed who are suitable and deputed thereto by you and by the superior general of the Society at the time, from cases of heresy and other cases against the faith, and from any consequent censures of any kind, and of dispensing them, in the forum of conscience, as far as need be. We consider all of these texts and reasons why they were granted to be sufficiently expressed in the present document, and we add to them the force of perpetual and unshaken firmness.

We also decree that they are to be observed inviolably, and can never in any way, at any time, be included under any derogations, revocations, suspensions, alterations, decrees, declarations, and apostolic letters, even those which contain any general or special clauses, even those of exceptional validity which derogate from derogations, and also invalidating decrees under any form of words and expressions, as

well as rules of the apostolic chancery or apostolic constitutions enacted and published on any occasion whatever, nor can they be revoked or altered. And thus should they be judged and defined by any judges and commissaries, whatever authority they enjoy, in any case and instance, any other faculty and authority of judging and interpreting otherwise being removed from them, whoever they may be. We decree that from now on any attempt to judge otherwise about these matters by anyone of any authority, whether knowingly or otherwise, is null and void. And furthermore, so that you and this Society may be able to offer more peacefully and devotedly in humility of spirit your welcome service to the Most High, we by the authority of this document extend and broaden the faculty and permission, otherwise granted to you, of anticipating and postponing the divine office, to the extent that you and the religious of the Society existing at the time may freely and without scruples of conscience postpone the very office of celebrating Mass, for legitimate and just reasons (we charge this matter to your conscience and that of the superiors general who succeed you at any time, and the others whom you may depute for this).

In addition, by the authority of this document, we grant the full and free faculty and permission to you and to the other superiors general of the Society in office at the time, and to the others with whom you may have shared your authority for this commutation, to commute at your will the recitation of the office, for those who you judge should be excused because of infirmity, to another religious work or shorter prayer, as long, that is, as the infirmity lasts.

[We also grant permission] to the students of the colleges of the Society which are among the student bodies of any university to receive any bachelor's, master's, licentiate, and doctor's degrees in the said colleges from the superior general in office at the time, or by his permission from any of the lower superiors or rectors of such colleges, with two or three doctors or masters as well to be chosen by them (if [the students], upon a rigorous public examination in these universities, have been found suitable, and the rectors of the universities have refused to promote them free of charge and from the love of God, without the payment of money). The students of these colleges outside the universities, upon completing their course of studies and a rigorous examination, may receive [the above degrees] from the said superior

general, or by his permission from any of the superiors or rectors of these colleges, with two or three doctors or masters to be chosen by them. The superiors and rectors, with the doctors, may promote these students to these degrees, and the students, after they have been promoted, may lecture and dispute therewith, and carry out and perform the other acts connected with them, and may use, possess, and enjoy in any way for the future each and all of the privileges, prerogatives, immunities, exemptions, liberties, preferences, favors, graces, and indulgences, and each and all of the other things which the others in any of the universities use, possess, and enjoy by law or custom, or otherwise, on the occasion of their promotion, after a rigorous examination and otherwise according to the usages, ordinances, rites, and customs usually observed therein and required. And they are to use, possess, and enjoy them in everything and in every way, not only in imitation of the others, but in like manner and as equally of first rank, with no difference whatever, just as if they had received these degrees in those universities and not in their colleges. The lower superiors too who are deputed by you and by the aforesaid superior general in office at the time, or by the provincials as well, especially in the regions of the Indies and other remote parts, may themselves share and grant to any other persons who are members of this Society and of whom they approve, as often as they choose, whatever graces, faculties, concessions, and indulgences were shared and granted to them by you and by the same superior general or provincial in office at the time, as long as it is with your permission and that of the superiors general in office at the time.

We also grant, by the authority of this document, the full and free faculty and permission to the religious of the Society who are impaired by old age or reduced by some infirmity and not fit to work in the Lord's vineyard, even the Professed, to stay in the colleges of the Society with your permission and that of the superior general in office at the time, or of those lower [superiors] with whom you have shared this faculty, or will share it, and to maintain themselves on their revenues and incomes, freely and licitly and with no scruple of conscience.

This holds notwithstanding any apostolic constitutions, and any general or particular ones published by provincial and synodical councils, and ordinances, and statutes and customs of the Society and of these universities reinforced under oath, apostolic confirmation, or

any other validation, as well as privileges, indults, and apostolic letters to this Society and universities and their rectors, doctors, and persons in whatever texts and forms, and even with whatever derogations of derogations, and other invalidating clauses of exceptional effect, and other decrees, even those coming from our own initiative and with plenary apostolic power, and otherwise granted, approved, and renewed. While all of these remain in effect otherwise, we particularly and expressly derogate from them on this occasion, considering their contents to be sufficiently expressed in the present document, even if particular and express mention was to be made of them and of their full contents, or this was to be represented otherwise, all other things to the contrary notwithstanding.

Now because it would be difficult to send this letter to each place individually, we desire, and by the same authority decree, that copies of the same, when signed by some notary public and sealed by some prelate or person holding an ecclesiastical dignity, or corroborated by an ecclesiastical court, should be fully accorded the same credence in a court of law or elsewhere, when there is need, as would be shown to the present document, were it shown or displayed.

Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the Fisherman's Ring, on the twenty-second day of October, 1552, the third year of our pontificate.

Past Issues of STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS

- 1/1 John R. Sheets, *A Profile of the Contemporary Jesuit: His Challenges and Opportunities* (Sep 1969).
- 1/2 George E. Ganss, *The Authentic Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius: Some Facts of History and Terminology Basic to Their Functional Efficacy Today* (Nov 1969).
- 2/1 William J. Burke, *Institution and Person* (Feb 1970).
- 2/2 John Carroll Futrell, *Ignatian Discernment* (Apr 1970).
- 2/3 Bernard J. F. Lonergan, *The Response of the Jesuit, as Priest and Apostle, in the Modern World* (Sep 1970).
- 3/1 John H. Wright, *The Grace of Our Founder and the Grace of Our Vocation* (Feb 1971).
- 3/2 Vincent J. O'Flaherty, *Some Reflections on Jesuit Commitment* (Apr 1971).
- 3/3 Thomas E. Clarke, *Jesuit Commitment—Fraternal Covenant?*; John C. Haughey, *Another Perspective on Religious Commitment* (Jun 1971).
- 3/4 Jules J. Toner, *A Method for Communal Discernment of God's Will* (Sep 1971).
- 3/5 John R. Sheets, *Toward a Theology of the Religious Life: A Sketch, with Particular Reference to the Society of Jesus* (Nov 1971).
- 4/1 David B. Knight, *Saint Ignatius' Ideal of Poverty* (Jan 1972).
- 4/2 John R. Sheets, William W. Meissner, William J. Burke, Thomas E. Clarke, and John H. Wright, *Two Discussions: I. On Spiritual Direction [and] II. On Leadership and Authority* (Mar 1972).
- 4/3 Ladislav Orsy, *Some Questions about the Purpose and Scope of the General Congregation* (Jun 1972).
- 4/4 George E. Ganss, John H. Wright, John W. O'Malley, Leo J. O'Donovan, and Avery Dulles, *On Continuity and Change: A Symposium* (Oct 1972).
- 4/5 John Carroll Futrell, *Communal Discernment: Reflections on Experience* (Nov 1972).
- 5/1–5/2 Vincent J. O'Flaherty, *Renewal: Call and Response* (Jan and Mar 1973).
- 5/3 Pedro Arrupe, "Art and the Spirit of the Society of Jesus"; Clement J. McNaspy, "Art in Jesuit Life," in *The Place of Art in Jesuit Life* (Apr 1973).
- 5/4 John C. Haughey, *The Pentecostal Thing and Jesuits* (Jun 1973).

- 5/5 Ladislav Orsy, *Toward a Theological Evaluation of Communal Discernment* (Oct 1973).
- 6/1–6/2 John W. Padberg, *The General Congregations of the Society of Jesus: A Brief Survey of Their History* (Jan and Mar 1974).
- 6/3 David B. Knight, *Joy and Judgment in Religious Obedience* (Apr 1974).
- 6/4 Jules J. Toner, *The Deliberation That Started the Jesuits: A Commentario on the Deliberatio primorum Patrum, Newly Translated, with a Historical Introduction* (Jun 1974).
- 6/5 Robert L. Schmitt, *The Christ-Experience and Relationship Fostered in the Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius of Loyola* (Oct 1974).
- 7/1 John H. Wright, George E. Ganss, and Ladislav Orsy, *On Thinking with the Church Today* (Jan 1975).
- 7/2 George E. Ganss, *The Christian Life Communities as Sprung from the Sodalities of Our Lady*; Miss José Gsell and Sister Françoise Vandermeersch, *A Specimen Copy of Communications from the International Service in Ignatian Spirituality, Rome* (Mar 1975).
- 7/3 William J. Connolly, *Contemporary Spiritual Direction—Scope and Principles: An Introductory Essay* (Jun 1975).
- 7/4 Thomas E. Clarke, *Ignatian Spirituality and Societal Consciousness*; Ladislav Orsy, *Faith and Justice: Some Reflections* (Sep 1975).
- 7/5 Michael J. Buckley, *The Confirmation of a Promise: A Letter to George Ganss*; John W. Padberg, *Continuity and Change in General Congregation XXXII* (Nov 1975).
- 8/1 Charles E. O'Neill, *Acatamiento: Ignatian Reverence in History and in Contemporary Culture* (Jan 1976).
- 8/2–8/3 Horacio de la Costa, "A More Authentic Poverty"; Edward F. Sheridan, "The Decree on Poverty," in *On Becoming Poor: A Symposium on Evangelical Poverty*, with discussions by Michael J. Buckley, William J. Connolly, David L. Fleming, George E. Ganss, Robert F. Harvanek, Daniel F. X. Meenan, Charles E. O'Neill, and Ladislav Orsy (Mar and May 1976).
- 8/4 Robert L. Faricy, *Jesuit Community: Community of Prayer* (Oct 1976).
- 8/5 Michael J. Buckley, *Jesuit Priesthood: Its Meaning and Commitments* (Dec 1976).
- 9/1–9/2 Joseph M. Becker, "Section I: The Statistics and a Tentative Analysis"; Ladislav Orsy, Robert F. Harvanek, James J. Gill, David L. Fleming, and William J. Connolly, "Section II: Other Reactions and Explanations from Different Backgrounds," in *Changes in U.S. Jesuit Membership, 1958–1975: A Symposium* (Jan and Mar 1977).

- 9/3 Robert F. Harvanek, *The Reluctance to Admit Sin* (May 1977).
- 9/4 Bill Connolly, "A Letter on the Problematic, To Phil Land," and "A Reply to Phil Land: Afterthoughts"; Phil Land, "A Reply about the Problematic," in *Jesuit Spiritualities and the Struggle for Social Justice* (Sep 1977).
- 9/5 James J. Gill, *A Jesuit's Account of Conscience—For Personal and Organizational Effectiveness* (Nov 1977).
- 10/1 Alfred C. Kammer, "Burn-Out": *Contemporary Dilemma for the Jesuit Social Activist*; Richard L. Smith, Francisco Ornelas, and Noel Barré, *Other Viewpoints* (Jan 1978).
- 10/2–10/3 William A. Barry, Madeline Birmingham, William J. Connolly, Robert J. Fahey, Virginia Sullivan Finn, and James J. Gill, *Affectivity and Sexuality: Their Relationship to the Spiritual and Apostolic Life of Jesuits—Comments on Three Experiences* (Mar and May 1978).
- 10/4 Robert F. Harvanek, *The Status of Obedience in the Society of Jesus*; Philip S. Land, *Reactions to the Connolly-Land Letters on Faith and Justice: A Digest* (Sep 1978).
- 10/5 John W. Padberg, *Personal Experience and the Spiritual Exercises: The Example of Saint Ignatius* (Nov 1978).
- 11/1 Thomas H. Clancy, *Feeling Bad about Feeling Good* (Jan 1979).
- 11/2 Dominic Maruca, *Our Personal Witness as a Power toward Evangelizing Our Culture* (Mar 1979).
- 11/3 J. Leo Klein, *American Jesuits and the Liturgy* (May 1979).
- 11/4 Michael J. Buckley, *Mission in Companionship: Of Jesuit Community and Communion* (Sep 1979).
- 11/5 Joseph F. Conwell, *The Kamikaze Factor: Choosing Jesuit Ministries* (Nov 1979).
- 12/1 Thomas H. Clancy, ed., *Veteran Witnesses: Their Experience of Jesuit Life* [reflections of fifteen Jesuits] (Jan 1980).
- 12/2 Peter J. Henriot, Joseph A. Appleyard, and J. Leo Klein, *Living Together in Mission: A Symposium on Small Apostolic Communities* (Mar 1980).
- 12/3 Joseph F. Conwell, *Living and Dying in the Society of Jesus or Endeavoring to Imitate Angelic Purity* (May 1980).
- 12/4–12/5 J. Peter Schineller, *The Newer Approaches to Christology and Their Use in the Spiritual Exercises* (Sep and Nov 1980).
- 13/1 Simon Peter [pseudonym], *Alcoholism and Jesuit Life: An Individual and Community Illness* (Jan 1981).

- 13/2 Paul Begheyn, *A Bibliography on St. Ignatius' Spiritual Exercises: A Working Tool for American Students* (Mar 1981).
- 13/3 George E. Ganss, *Toward Understanding the Jesuit Brothers' Vocation, Especially as Described in the Papal and Jesuit Documents* (May 1981).
- 13/4 James W. Reites, *St. Ignatius of Loyola and the Jews* (Sep 1981).
- 13/5 David J. O'Brien, *The Jesuits and Catholic Higher Education* (Nov 1981).
- 14/1 John W. O'Malley, *The Jesuits, St. Ignatius, and the Counter Reformation: Some Recent Studies and Their Implications for Today* (Jan 1982).
- 14/2 Avery Dulles, *Saint Ignatius and the Jesuit Theological Tradition* (Mar 1982).
- 14/3 Paul V. Robb, *Conversion as a Human Experience* (May 1982).
- 14/4 Howard J. Gray, *An Experience in Ignatian Government: Letters to a New Rector* (Sep 1982).
- 14/5 Francisco Ivern, *The Future of Faith and Justice: A Critical Review of Decree Four* (Nov 1982).
- 15/1 John W. O'Malley, *The Fourth Vow in Its Ignatian Context: A Historical Study* (Jan 1983).
- 15/2 Francis A. Sullivan and Robert L. Faricy, *On Making the Spiritual Exercises for the Renewal of Jesuit Charisms* (Mar 1983).
- 15/3–15/4 John W. Padberg, *The Society True to Itself: A Brief History of the 32nd General Congregation of the Society of Jesus* (December 2, 1974–March 7, 1975) (May and Sep 1983).
- 15/5–16/1 Joseph A. Tetlow, *The Jesuits' Mission in Higher Education: Perspectives & Contexts* (Nov 1983 and Jan 1984).
- 16/2 John W. O'Malley, *To Travel to Any Part of the World: Jerónimo Nadal and the Jesuit Vocation* (Mar 1984).
- 16/3 Daniel J. O'Hanlon, *Integration of Christian Practices: A Western Christian Looks East* (May 1984).
- 16/4 Gregory I. Carlson, "A Faith Lived Out of Doors": *Ongoing Formation of Jesuits Today* (Sep 1984).
- 16/5 E. Edward Kinerk, *Eliciting Great Desires: Their place in the Spirituality of the Society of Jesus* (Nov 1984).
- 17/1 William C. Spohn, *St. Paul on Apostolic Celibacy and the Body of Christ* (Jan 1985).
- 17/2 Brian E. Daley, "In Ten Thousand Places": *Christian Universality and the Jesuit Mission* (Mar 1985).

- 17/3 Joseph A. Tetlow, *A Dialogue on the Sexual Maturing of Celibates* (May 1985).
- 17/4 William C. Spohn, John A. Coleman, Thomas E. Clarke, and Peter J. Henriot, *Jesuits and Peacemaking: A Symposium* (Sep 1985).
- 17/5 E. Edward Kinerk, *When Jesuits Pray: A Perspective on the Prayer of Apostolic Persons* (Nov 1985).
- 18/1 Donald L. Gelpi, *The Converting Jesuit* (Jan 1986).
- 18/2 Charles J. Beirne, *Compass and Catalyst: An Essay on the Ministry of Administration* (Mar 1986).
- 18/3 Richard A. McCormick, *Bishops as Teachers and Jesuits as Listeners* (May 1986).
- 18/4 Brian O. McDermott, *With Him, In Him: Graces of the Spiritual Exercises* (Sep 1986).
- 18/5 Joseph A. Tetlow, *The Transformation of Jesuit Poverty* (Nov 1986).
- 19/1 John M. Staudenmaier, *United States Technology and Adult Commitment* (Jan 1987).
- 19/2 J. A. Appleyard, *The Languages We Use: Talking about Religious Experience* (Mar 1987).
- 19/3 J. William Harmless and Donald L. Gelpi, *Priesthood Today and the Jesuit Vocation* (May 1987).
- 19/4 Roger Haight, *Foundational Issues in Jesuit Spirituality* (Sep 1987).
- 19/5 Philip Endean, *Who Do You Say Ignatius Is? Jesuit Fundamentalism and Beyond* (Nov 1987).
- 20/1 Dean Brackley, *Downward Mobility: Social Implications of St Ignatius's Two Standards* (Jan 1988).
- 20/2 John W. Padberg, *How We Live Where We Live* (Mar 1988).
- 20/3 James M. Hayes, John W. Padberg, and John M. Staudenmaier, *Symbols, Devotions, and Jesuits* (May 1988).
- 20/4 Arthur F. McGovern, *Jesuit Education and Jesuit Spirituality* (Sep 1988).
- 20/5 William A. Barry, *Jesuit Formation Today: An Invitation to Dialogue and Involvement* (Nov 1988).
- 21/1 George B. Wilson, *Where Do We Belong? United States Jesuits and Their Memberships* (Jan 1989).

- 21/2 Adrien Demoustier, "The First Companions and the Poor"; Jean-Yves Calvez, "The Preferential Option for the Poor: Where Does It Come From For Us?", in *The Disturbing Subject: The Option for the Poor*, trans. Edward F. Sheridan; includes short reflections by Dan Weber, James K. Voiss, Michael L. Cook, Jack Morris, James E. Royce, Phil Boroughs, J. D. Whitney, Kevin Connell, and Chuck Schmitz (Mar 1989).
- 21/3 Paul A. Soukup, *Jesuit Response to the Communication Revolution* (May 1989).
- 21/4 Joseph A. Tetlow, *The Fundamentum: Creation in the Principle and Foundation* (Sep 1989).
- 21/5 Past and Present Seminar Members, *Jesuits Praying: Personal Reflections* (Nov 1989).
- 22/1 L. Patrick Carroll, *The Spiritual Exercises in Everyday Life: A Practical Implementation* (Jan 1990).
- 22/2 Joseph A. Bracken, *Jesuit Spirituality from a Process Prospective* (Mar 1990).
- 22/3 John R. Shepherd with Paul A. Soukup, *Fire for a Weekend: An Experience of the Spiritual Exercises* (May 1990).
- 22/4 Michael J. O'Sullivan, *Trust Your Feelings, but Use Your Head: Discernment and the Psychology of Decision Making* (Sep 1990).
- 22/5 John A. Coleman, *A Company of Critics: Jesuits and the Intellectual Life* (Nov 1990).
- 23/1 Frank J. Houdek, *The Road Too Often Traveled: Formation—"Developing the Apostolic Body of the Society"* (Jan 1991).
- 23/2 James J. DiGiacomo, *Ministering to the Young* (Mar 1991).
- 23/3 Paul Begheyne and Kenneth Bogart, *A Bibliography on St. Ignatius's Spiritual Exercises* (May 1991).
- 23/4 Charles M. Shelton, *Reflections on the Mental Health of Jesuits* (Sep 1991).
- 23/5 David S. Toolan, "Nature Is a Heraclitean Fire": *Reflections on Cosmology in an Ecological Age* (Nov 1991).
- 24/1 Frank J. Houdek, *Jesuit Prayer and Jesuit Ministry: Context and Possibilities* (Jan 1992).
- 24/2 Thomas H. Smolich, *Testing the Water: Jesuits Accompanying the Poor* (Mar 1992).
- 24/3 David J. Hassel, *Jesus Christ Changing Yesterday, Today, and Forever* (May 1992).

- 24/4 Charles M. Shelton, *Toward Healthy Jesuit Community Living: Some Psychological Reflections* (Sep 1992).
- 24/5 Michael L. Cook, *Jesus' Parables and the Faith That Does Justice* (Nov 1992).
- 25/1 Thomas H. Clancy, *Saint Ignatius as Fund-Raiser* (Jan 1993).
- 25/2 John R. Donahue, *What Does the Lord Require?: A Bibliographical Essay on the Bible and Social Justice* (Mar 1993).
- 25/3 John W. Padberg, *Ignatius, the Popes, and Realistic Reverence* (May 1993).
- 25/4 Thomas H. Stahel, *Toward General Congregation 34: A History "from Below" of GC 31, GC 32, and GC 33* (Sep 1993).
- 25/5 John F. Baldovin, *Christian Liturgy: An Annotated Bibliography for Jesuits* (Nov 1993).
- 26/1 Joseph A. Tetlow, *The Most Postmodern Prayer: American Jesuit Identity and the Examen of Conscience, 1920–1990* (Jan 1994).
- 26/2 Séamus Murphy, *The Many Ways of Justice* (Mar 1994).
- 26/3 John M. Staudenmaier, *To Fall in Love with the World: Individualism and Self-Transcendence in American Life* (May 1994).
- 26/4 John B. Foley, *Stepping into the River: Reflections on the Vows* (Sep 1994).
- 26/5 Thomas M. Landy, *Myths That Shape Us: Jesuit Beliefs about the Value of Institutions* (Nov 1994).
- 27/1 Brian E. Daley, *"To Be More like Christ": The Background and Implications of "Three Kinds of Humility"* (Jan 1995).
- 27/2 Edward W. Schmidt, *Portraits and Landscapes: Scenes from Our Common Life* (Mar 1995).
- 27/3 Gerard L. Stockhausen, *"I'd Love to, but I Don't Have the Time": Jesuits and Leisure* (May 1995).
- 27/4 George M. Anderson, *Jesuits in Jail, Ignatius to the Present* (Sep 1995).
- 27/5 Charles M. Shelton, *Friendship in Jesuit Life: The Joys, the Struggles, the Possibilities* (Nov 1995).
- 28/1 Paul Begheyn, *Bibliography on the History of the Jesuits: Publications in English, 1900–1993* (Jan 1996).
- 28/2 Joseph Veale, *Saint Ignatius Speaks about "Ignatian Prayer"* (Mar 1996).
- 28/3 Francis X. Clooney, *In Ten Thousand Places, in Every Blade of Grass: Uneventful but True Confessions about Finding God in India, and Here Too* (May 1996).

- 28/4 Carl F. Starkloff, *As Different as Night and Day: Ignatius's Presupposition and Our Way of Conversing across Cultures* (Sep 1996).
- 28/5 Edward F. Beckett, *Listening to Our History: Inculturation and Jesuit Slaveholding* (Nov 1996).
- 29/1 Dennis Hamm, *Preaching Biblical Justice: To Nurture the Faith That Does It* (Jan 1997).
- 29/2 John W. Padberg, *The Three Forgotten Founders of the Society of Jesus: Paschase Broët (1500–1652), Jean Codure (1508–1541), Claude Jay (1504–1552)* (Mar 1997).
- 29/3 Peter D. Byrne, *Jesuits and Parish Ministry* (May 1997).
- 29/4 James F. Keenan, *Are Informationes Ethical?* (Sep 1997).
- 29/5 Ernest C. Ferlita, *The Road to Bethlehem—Is it Level or Winding?: The Use of the Imagination in the Spiritual Exercises* (Nov 1997).
- 30/1 Paul Shore, *The "Vita Christi" of Ludolph of Saxony and Its Influence on the Spiritual Exercises of Ignatius of Loyola* (Jan 1998).
- 30/2 Carl F. Starkloff, *"I'm No Theologian, but . . . (or so . . .)?: The Role of Theology in the Life and Ministry of Jesuits* (Mar 1998).
- 30/3 James S. Torrens, *The Word That Clamors: Jesuit Poetry That Reflects the Spiritual Exercises* (May 1998).
- 30/4 Clement J. Petrik, *Being Sent: A Personal Reflection on Jesuit Governance in Changing Times* (Sep 1998).
- 30/5 Charles J. Jackson, *One and the Same Vocation: The Jesuit Brother, 1957 to the Present—A Critical Analysis* (Nov 1998).
- 31/1 Richard J. Clifford, *Scripture and the Exercises: Moving from the Gospels and Psalms to Exodus and Proverbs* (Jan 1999).
- 31/2 Timothy E. Toohig, *Physics Research: A Search for God* (Mar 1999).
- 31/3 Gerald M. Fagin, *Fidelity in the Church—Then and Now* (May 1999).
- 31/4 J. Peter Schineller, *The Pilgrim Journey of Ignatius: From Soldier to Laborer in the Lord's Vineyard and Its Implications for Apostolic Lay Spirituality* (Sep 1999).
- 31/5 Lisa Fullam, *Juana, SJ: The Past (and Future) Status of Women in the Society of Jesus* (Nov 1999).
- 32/1 John P. Langan, *The Good of Obedience in a Culture of Autonomy* (Jan 2000).
- 32/2 Richard A. Blake, *Listen with Your Eyes: Interpreting Images in the Spiritual Exercises* (Mar 2000) [misnumbered on the front cover as "31/2."].

- 32/3 Charles M. Shelton, *When a Jesuit Counsels Others: Some Practical Guidelines* (May 2000).
- 32/4 William A. Barry, *Past, Present, and Future: A Jubilarian's Reflections on Jesuit Spirituality* (Sep 2000).
- 32/5 Carl F. Starkloff, *Pilgrimage Re-envisioned: Mission and Culture in the Last Five General Congregations* (Nov 2000).
- 33/1 Peter-Hans Kolvenbach, "The Service of Faith and the Promotion of Justice in American Jesuit Higher Education," in *Faith, Justice, and American Jesuit Higher Education: Readings from the Formula of the Institute, the Constitutions, the Complementary Norms, GC 32, Pedro Arrupe, and GC 34*; and an address by Peter-Hans Kolvenbach (Jan 2001).
- 33/2 James F. Keenan, *Unexpected Consequences: A Jesuit and Puritan Book, Robert Persons's Christian Directory, and Its Relevance for Jesuit Spirituality Today* (Mar 2001).
- 33/3 Pedro Arrupe, *The Trinitarian Inspiration of the Ignatian Charism* (May 2001).
- 33/4 Joseph Veale, *Saint Ignatius Asks, "Are You Sure You Know Who I Am?"* (Sep 2001).
- 33/5 William A. Barry and James F. Keenan, eds., *How Multicultural Are We? Six Stories*, by Claudio M. Burgaleta, Gregory C. Chisholm, Eduardo C. Fernandez, Gerdenio M. Manuel, J-Glenn Murray, and Hung T. Pham (Nov 2001).
- 34/1 Richard A. Blake, *City of the Living God: The Urban Roots of the Spiritual Exercises* (Jan 2002).
- 34/2 Francis X. Clooney, *A Charism for Dialogue: Advice from the Early Jesuit Missionaries in Our World of Religious Pluralism* (Mar 2002).
- 34/3 William Rehg, *Christian Mindfulness: A Path to Finding God in All Things* (May 2002).
- 34/4 Dean Brackley, *Expanding the Shrunken Soul: False Humility, Ressentiment, and Magnanimity* (Sep 2002).
- 34/5 Robert Bireley, *The Jesuits and Politics in Time of War: A Self-Appraisal* (Nov 2002).
- 35/1 William A. Barry, *Jesuit Spirituality for the Whole of Life* (Jan 2003).
- 35/2 V. Rev. John Baptist Janssens, *Instruction and Ordinance Concerning the Training of Ours in the Sacred Liturgy*, with introduction by Lawrence J. Madden (Mar 2003).

- 35/3 Douglas Marcouiller, *Archbishop with an Attitude: Oscar Romero's Sentir con la Iglesia* (May 2003).
- 35/4 Ronald Modras, *A Jesuit in the Crucible: Friedrich Spee and the Witchcraft Hysteria in Seventeenth-Century Germany* (Sep 2003).
- 35/5 Thomas M. Lucas, *Virtual Vessels, Mystical Signs: Contemplating Mary's Images in the Jesuit Tradition* (Nov 2003).
- 36/1 Thomas P. Rausch, *Christian Life Communities for Jesuit University Students?* (Spring 2004).
- 36/2 James Bernauer, *The Holocaust and the Search for Forgiveness: An Invitation to the Society of Jesus?* (Summer 2004).
- 36/3 David E. Nantais, "Whatever!" Is Not Ignatian Indifference: *Jesuits and the Ministry to Young Adults* (Fall 2004).
- 36/4 János Lukács, *The Incarnational Dynamic of the Constitutions* (Winter 2004).
- 37/1 Dennis C. Smolarski, *Jesuits on the Moon: Seeking God in All Things . . . Even Mathematics!* (Spring 2005).
- 37/2 Peter McDonough, *Clenched Fist or Open Hands? Five Jesuit Perspectives on Pluralism* (Summer 2005).
- 37/3 James S. Torrens, *Tuskegee Years: What Father Arrupe Got Me Into* (Fall 2005).
- 37/4 Kevin O'Brien, *Consolation in Action: The Jesuit Refugee Service and the Ministry of Accompaniment* (Winter 2005).
- 38/1 Peter Schineller, *In Their Own Words: Ignatius, Xavier, Favre and Our Way of Proceeding* (Spring 2006).
- 38/2 Charles J. Jackson, *Something That Happened to Me at Manresa: The Mystical Origin of the Ignatian Charism* (Summer 2006).
- 38/3 William Reiser, *Locating the Grace of the Fourth Week: A Theological Inquiry* (Fall 2006).
- 38/4 John W. O'Malley, *Five Missions of the Jesuit Charism: Content and Method* (Winter 2006).
- 39/1 Gerald L. McKevitt, *Italian Jesuits in Maryland: A Clash of Theological Cultures* (Spring 2007).
- 39/2 Patrick M. Kelly, *Loved into Freedom and Service: Lay Experiences of the Exercises in Daily Life* (Summer 2007).
- 39/3 T. Frank Kennedy, *Music and the Jesuit Mission in the New World* (Autumn 2007).

- 39/4 William E. Creed, *Jesuits and the Homeless: Companions on Life's Journey* (Winter 2007).
- 40/1 Luce Giard, *The Jesuit College: A Center for Knowledge, Art and Faith 1548–1773* (Spring 2008).
- 40/2 Wilkie Au, *Ignatian Service: Gratitude and Love in Action* (Summer 2008).
- 40/3 Robert J. Kaslyn, *The Jesuit Ministry of Publishing: Overview of Guidelines and Praxis* (Autumn 2008).
- 40/4 William Rehg, *The Value and Viability of the Jesuit Brothers' Vocation: An American Perspective* (Winter 2008).
- 41/1 Markus Friedrich, *Governance in the Society of Jesus, 1540–1773: Its Methods, Critics, and Legacy Today* (Spring 2009).
- 41/2 Gerdenio Sonny Manuel, *Living Chastity: Psychosexual Well-Being in Jesuit Life* (Summer 2009).
- 41/3 Jeremy Clarke, *Our Lady of China: Marian Devotion and the Jesuits* (Autumn 2009).
- 41/4 Francis X. Hezel, *A Life at the Edge of the World* (Winter 2009).
- 42/1 Michael C. McCarthy, Thomas Massaro, Thomas Worcester, and Michael A. Zampelli, *Four Stories of the Kolvenbach Generation* (Spring 2010).
- 42/2 Roger Haight, *Expanding the Spiritual Exercises* (Summer 2010).
- 42/3 Thomas M. Cohen, *Jesuits and New Christians: The Contested Legacy of St. Ignatius* (Autumn 2010).
- 42/4 R. Bentley Anderson, Numa J. Rousseve Jr.: *Creole, Catholic, and Jesuit* (Winter 2010).
- 43/1 Milton Walsh, *"To Always Be Thinking Somehow about Jesus": The Prologue of Ludolph's Vita Christi* (Spring 2011).
- 43/2 Michael C. McCarthy, *"Let Me Love More Passionately": Religious Celibacy in a Secular Age* (Summer 2011).
- 43/3 Gerald L. McKevitt, *The Gifts of Aging: Jesuit Elders in Their Own Words* (Autumn 2011).
- 43/4 John Gavin, *"True Charity Begins Where Justice Ends": The Life and Teachings of St. Alberto Hurtado* (Winter 2011).
- 44/1 Michael D. Barber, *Desolation and the Struggle for Justice* (Spring 2012).
- 44/2 Barton T. Geger, *The First First Companions: The Continuing Impact of the Men Who Left Ignatius* (Summer 2012).

- 44/3 Emanuele Colombo, *"Even among Turks": Tirso González de Santalla (1624–1705) and Islam* (Autumn 2012).
- 44/4 Thomas D. Stegman, *"Run That You May Obtain the Prize": Using St. Paul as a Resource for the Spiritual Exercises* (Winter 2012).
- 45/1 Hilmar M. Pabel, *Fear and Consolation: Peter Canisius and the Spirituality of Dying and Death* (Spring 2013).
- 45/2 Robert E. Scully, *The Suppression of the Society of Jesus: A Perfect Storm in the Age of the "Enlightenment"* (Summer 2013).
- 45/3 Jorge Mario Bergoglio, *Writings on Jesuit Spirituality I*, trans. Philip Endean (Autumn 2013).
- 45/4 Jorge Mario Bergoglio, *Writings on Jesuit Spirituality II*, trans. Philip Endean (Winter 2013).
- 46/1 Anthony J. Kuzniewski, *"Our American Champions": The First American Generation of American Jesuit Leaders after the Restoration of the Society* (Spring 2014).
- 46/2 Hung T. Pham, *Composing a Sacred Space: A Lesson from the Catechismus of Alexandre de Rhodes* (Summer 2014).
- 46/3 Barton T. Geger, *Hidden Theology in the "Autobiography" of St. Ignatius* (Autumn 2014).
- 46/4 Nicholas Austin, *Mind and Heart: Towards an Ignatian Spirituality of Study* (Winter 2014).
- 47/1 John W. O'Malley, *Jesuit Schools and the Humanities Yesterday and Today* (Spring 2015).
- 47/2 Paul [L.] Mariani, *The Mystery and the Majesty of It: Jesuit Spirituality in the Poetry of Gerald Manley Hopkins* (Summer 2015).
- 47/3 Mark Lewis, *Unfinished Business: The Spiritual Coadjutor in the Society of Jesus Today* (Autumn 2015).
- 47/4 Francis X. Hezel, *Let the Spirit Speak: Learning to Pray* (Winter 2015).
- 48/1 Joseph A. Tetlow, *The Preached Weekend Retreat: A Relic or a Future?* (Spring 2016).
- 48/2 Hung T. Pham and Eduardo C. Fernández, *Pilgrims in Community at the Frontiers: A Contemplation on Jesuit Mission Today* (Summer 2016).
- 48/3 E. Edward Kinerk, *Personal Encounters with Jesus Christ* (Autumn 2016).
- 48/4 Barton T. Geger, *Bending the Knee to Baal? St. Ignatius on Jesuit Vocation Promotion* (Winter 2016).

- 49/1 William C. Woody, *"So We Are Ambassadors for Christ": The Jesuit Ministry of Reconciliation* (Spring 2017).
- 49/2 Henry J. Shea, *The Beloved Disciple and the Spiritual Exercises* (Summer 2017).
- 49/3 Members of General Congregation 36, *The Moment of GC 36 for Its Members* (Autumn 2017).
- 49/4 Richard J. Baumann, *Our Jesuit Constitutions: Cooperation as Union* (Winter 2017).
- 50/1 Barton T. Geger, *Ten Things That St. Ignatius Never Said or Did* (Spring 2018).
- 50/2 Ted Penton, *Spiritual Care for the Poor: An Ignatian Response to Pope Francis's Challenge* (Summer 2018).
- 50/3 William McCormick, *"A Continual Sacrifice to the Glory of God": Ignatian Magnanimity as Cooperation with the Divine* (Autumn 2018).
- 50/4 Brian O. McDermott, *Spiritual Consolation and Its Role in the Second Time of Election* (Winter 2018).
- 51/1 James J. Conn, *Jesuits and Eucharistic Concelebration*; John F. Baldwin, *Jesuits, the Ministerial Priesthood, and Eucharistic Concelebration* (Spring 2019).
- 51/2 John W. O'Malley, *How We Were: Life in a Jesuit Novitiate, 1946–1948* (Summer 2019).
- 51/3 János Lukács, *To Be Changed as Deeply as We Would Hope: Revisiting the Novitiate* (Autumn 2019).
- 51/4 Elisa Frei, PhD, *Signed in Blood: Negotiating with Superiors General about the Overseas Missions* (Winter 2019).
- 52/1 Aaron D. Pidel, *Jerome Nadal's Apology for the Spiritual Exercises: A Study in Balanced Spirituality* (Spring 2020).
- 52/2 Philip R. Amidon, *Papal Documents from the Early Years of the Society of Jesus in English Translation* (Summer 2020).

Subscription Information Effective January 2018

All subscriptions are handled by the business office of STUDIES IN THE SPIRITUALITY OF JESUITS. Please do not contact the office of the Jesuit Conference of Canada and the United States.

The contact information for the business office is as follows:

Studies in the Spirituality of Jesuits Modern Litho 5111 Southwest Avenue St. Louis, MO 63110	Tel: 314-781-6505 Fax: 314-781-0551 Contact: Mark McCabe Admin Asst. Georgette Grman
--	---

The Jesuit Conference provides a free annual subscription to all U.S. and Canadian Jesuits. All other subscribers should place orders by contacting the business office or by sending an email to mmccabe@modernlitho.com.

U.S. and Canadian Jesuits should NOT contact the business office about changes of address; the Jesuit Conference regularly updates the business office on these changes. If U.S. Jesuits are not receiving issues, they should contact their respective provinces to ensure that the latter have their correct addresses. However, all paid subscribers should notify the business office directly of address changes or send an email to mmccabe@modernlitho.com.

Subscription Fees

Within the U.S. One year = \$22. Two years = \$40.

Within Canada and Mexico. One year = \$30. Two years = \$52.

All Other Locations. One year = \$34. Two years = \$60.

Makes checks payable to: *Jesuit Conference – Seminar on Jesuit Spirituality.*

Payments required at time of ordering, and must be in U.S. currency only.

Annual subscriptions run from Jan. 1 to Jan 1. All renewals are needed by Jan. 15.

Back Issues

A complete archive of previous issues is accessible on-line through the Boston College Library:
<https://ejournals.bc.edu/index.php/jesuit/issue/archive>

More recent issues are also available through the website of the Jesuit Conference:
<http://jesuit.org/publications?C=journals&#publications>

Hard copies of some back issues are available. Contact the general editor at JCUSTudies@jesuits.org. Copies are \$6.00 each plus postage.

“Letters to the Editor,” and all other questions or comments regarding the content of STUDIES or the submission of essays, should be sent to the general editor at:

Fr. Barton Geger, SJ, General Editor Institute of Advanced Jesuit Studies 140 Commonwealth Avenue Chestnut Hill, MA 02467	Office: 617-552-9097 Fax: 617-552-0811 E-mail: JCUSTudies@jesuits.org
--	---

Jesuit Conference, Inc.
1016 16th St. NW Suite 400
Washington, DC 20036-5727

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
MODERN LITHO